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**NOTE**  
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Thomas Ellwood read Latin to John Milton, and this book contains interesting reminiscences of the poet.

The author was a member of the Society of Friends: as such, he was often in duranee, and scattered through the following pages is a valuable detailed account of English prison-life in the seventeenth century.

AT

THE  
HISTORY

OF THE  
*LIFE*

OF  
THOMAS ELLWOOD :

OR,  
*AN ACCOUNT OF HIS BIRTH, EDUCATION, &c.*

With divers Observations on his Life and manners when a Youth ;  
and how he came to be convinced of the Truth ; with  
his many Sufferings and Services for the same.

ALSO,  
*Several other remarkable passages and occurrences.*

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
A SUPPLEMENT BY J. WYETH.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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In presenting to the public the present edition of this valuable history, the publisher thinks it necessary to apprise the reader of some change which has been adopted in the plan of the work.

The improvement in the art of versification has been so great within the last century, that much of the poetry contained in the following pages, now appear to disadvantage; and a large portion of it having very little connection with the narrative of the author's life, it has been thought expedient to transpose it to the latter part of the book, in the form of an appendix. By this means, the reader will be spared an unnecessary interruption; and those who wish to peruse his verses, may be gratified by turning to the appendix. A few pieces of a controversial nature have been omitted, from a conviction, that they could add nothing to the value of the work.

[illegible]



## PREFACE.

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*Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost*, John, vi. 12. was the direction of our Saviour to his disciples, after he had fed the multitude. Which may well and usefully be applied, to the collecting and preserving the accounts of the lives of good men; men who in their day, have been eminently useful in the stations of life, wherein God, by his good providence, hath placed them. And this preserving, by publication, is the rather to be done, when they leave behind them an account of their lives, and of the signal mercies of God to them therein: for from such accounts may best be gathered, by the reader, the man's particular state, exercise and growth in the work of restoration, out of the fall and degeneracy; and, in the reading thereof, be not only excited to bless the name of the Lord, on his behalf, but also gain some direction from the path, so fairly tracked out; and a ground

of hope, that by being faithful, they may likewise attain to the same good experience.

There is not with me any doubt, that something of this kind may be the lot of many, into whose hands this treatise may come; for that they will herein meet with an account of a variety of exercises, and the providences of God therein, all related with great strength and plainness of speech: our deceased friend Thomas Ellwood, having been a man whom God had endued with singular abilities, both as a man, and as a christian; which is evident, not only from this short account of his life, which was written by himself, and by the supplement added hereunto; but more largely from his many useful labours and services, and the many books which he wrote in the defence of Truth, and the friends thereof; for which service he was in a particular manner qualified, by spiritual wisdom and christian obedience; to which in him, was added great strength and depth of judgment, wherein he could discern the spirits of others, and was very much the master of his own, as did appear to such who knew him, not only by the soundness of his reasoning, and the seasonableness of his words; but also by his great and exemplary modesty, in

that he was not hasty to propose, nor rudely tenacious to insist on what he had proposed; if any thing, though not well expressed, yet well intended, was offered by any one much weaker; nay, though but by a babe in Christ.

His countenance was manly and cheerful; his deportment grave, yet affable and courteous, even to the meanest person; his conversation innocent, pleasant and instructive, yet severe against any thing that was beyond the liberty of truth. These, with his other qualifications of body and mind, did render him both very acceptable and very useful, as a friend, as a neighbour, and as a member and elder in the church of Christ; and the more, for that his time was chiefly employed in being serviceable in one or other of these capacities.

I might here particularly mention the several labours of our deceased friend, according to their respective times, and the nature of their several subjects; but much of this being already done in the ensuing pages, I choose to refer the reader thither; by which possibly he may be excited to the perusal of them, and shall only say concerning them, that the judicious reader will easily observe, that his

method and stile denote him to have been a scholar : and yet not more so, than the simplicity and purity of the truth, whereof he made profession, would permit him.

I was with our friend Thomas Ellwood, the greater part of his sickness : in which he was also very frequently visited by our friend George Bowles, who was his neighbour ; to whom therefore I refer for the account which he may give of his sickness and dying words.

As it was my good lot to be well acquainted with him, though only in the latter years of his life, and know that he did neither use nor encourage the bestowing elaborate encomiums upon persons deceased : So neither shall I add further concerning him, than to say with the Apostle concerning the faithful, that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts ; and by it he being dead, yet speaketh.—Heb. xi. 4.

J. W.

LONDON, 2d. Month,  
12th, 1714.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
*LIFE*  
OF  
THOMAS ELLWOOD.

---

ALTHOUGH my station, not being so eminent either in the Church of Christ, or in the world, as others who have moved in higher orbs, may not afford such considerable remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the course of my travels through this vale of tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through, I hold it a matter excusable, at least, if not commendable, to give the world some little account of my life, that in recounting the many deliverances and preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful acknowledgement thereof, and return of thanksgivings unto him therefor, may, in some measure set forth his abundant goodness to me; and others, whose lot it may be to tread the same path, and fall into the same

or like exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the way of holiness, and with full assurance of mind to trust in the Lord, whatsoever trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own beginning, I was born in the year of our Lord, 1639, about the beginning of the Eighth Month, so far as I have been able to inform myself: for the parish register, which relates to the time, not of birth, but of baptism, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The place of my birth was a little country town, called Crowell, situate in the upper side of Oxfordshire, three miles eastward from Thame the nearest market-town.

My father's name was Walter Ellwood; and my mother's maiden-name was Elizabeth Potman: both well descended; but of declining families. So that what my father possessed (which was a pretty estate in lands, and more, as I have heard in monies) he received as he had done his name Walter, from his grandfather Walter Gray; whose daughter, and only child, was his Mother.

In my very infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London. For the civil war, between King and Parliament, breaking then forth; my father, who favoured the Parliament side, though he took not Arms, not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the King's, betook himself to London, that city then holding for the Parliament.

There was I bred up (though not without much difficulty, the city air not agreeing with my tender constitution) and there continued, until Oxford was surrendered, and the war, in appearance, ended.

In this time, my parents contracted an acquaintance and intimate friendship with the lady Springen, then the widow of Sir William Springett, who died in the Parliament service; and who was afterwards the wife of Isaac Penington, eldest son of Alderman Penington of London. And this friendship devolving from the parents to the children, I became an early and particular play-fellow to her daughter Gulielma; being admitted as such, to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman about Lincoln's-inn fields.

I mention this in this place; because the continuation of that acquaintance and friendship having been an occasional means of my being afterwards brought to the knowledge of the blessed Truth, I shall have frequent cause, in the course of the following discourse, to make honourable mention of that family, to which I am under so many and great obligations.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford, my father returned to his estate at Crowell; which by that time he might have need enough to look after, having spent, I suppose, the greatest part of the monies which had been left him by his grandfather, in maintaining himself and his family at an high rate in London.

My elder brother (for I had one brother and two sisters, all older than myself) was, while we lived at London, boarded at a private school; in the house of one Francis Atkinson, at a place called Hadley, near Barnet in Hertfordshire; where he had made some good proficiency in the Latin and French tongues. But after we had left the city, and were resettled in the country; he was taken from that private school, and sent to the free school at Thame in Oxfordshire.

Thither also was I sent, as soon as my tender age would permit: for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little stature. For it was held, for some years, a doubtful point, whether I should not have proved a dwarf. But after I was arrived to the fifteenth year of my age, or thereabouts, I began to shoot up, and gave not over growing, till I had attained the middle size and stature of men.

At this school, which at that time was in good reputation; I profited apace; having then a natural propensity to learning: so that at the first reading over my lesson, I commonly made myself master of it: and yet, which is strange to think of, few boys in the school wore out more birch than I. For though I was never, that I remember, whipped upon the score of not having my lesson ready, or of not saying it well: yet being a little busy boy, full of spirit, of a working head, and ac-



give hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober rules, and as I then thought, severe orders of the school; but was often playing one waggish prank or other among my fellow-scholars, which subjected me to correction, so that I have come under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones.

Had I been continued at this school, and in due time preferred to an higher, I might in likelihood have been a scholar: for I was observed to have a genius apt to learn. But my father having, as soon as the republican government began to settle, accepted the office of a justice of the peace, which was no way beneficial but merely honorary, and every way expensive, and put himself into a port and course of living agreeable thereunto; and having also removed my brother from Thame school to Merton college in Oxford, and catered him there in the highest and most chargeable condition of a fellow-commoner, he found it needful to retrench his expences elsewhere, the hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from school, to save the charge of maintaining me there, which was somewhat like plucking green fruit from the tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due ripeness, which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little juice and relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but young, and before I

was well settled in my studies, (though I had made a good progress in the Latin tongue, and was entered in the Greek) being left too much to myself, to ply or play with my books or without them, as I pleased; I soon shook hands with my books by shaking my books out of my hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside; and addicted myself to such youthful sports and pleasures as the place afforded, and my condition could reach unto.

By this means, in a little time, I began to lose that little learning I had acquired at school; and by a continued disuse of my books, became at length so utterly a stranger to learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood a sentence in Latin. Which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an English book, lest, if I should meet with a Latin word, I should shame myself, by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my swing in such vain courses, as were accounted harmless recreations; entertaining my companions, and familiar acquaintance, with pleasant discourses in our conversations, by the mere force of mother wit and natural parts, without the help of school cultivation: and was accounted good company too.

But I always sorted myself with persons of ingenuity, temperance and sobriety: for I loathed scurrilities in conversation, and had a natural aversion to immoderate drinking.

So that in the time of my greatest vanity, I was preserved from profaneness, and the grosser evils of the world; which rendered me acceptable to persons of the best note in that country then. I often waited on the lord Wenman, at his house, Thame park, about two miles from Crowell, where I lived; to whose favour I held myself entitled in a two-fold respect; both as my mother was nearly related to his lady, and as he had been pleased to bestow his name upon me, when he made large promises for me at the font. He was a person of great honour and virtue, and always gave me a kind reception at his table, how often soever I came. And I have cause to think, I should have received from this lord some advantageous preferment in this world, as soon as he had found me capable of it, though betwixt him and my father there was not then so good an understanding as might have been wished; had I not been, in a little time after, called into the service of the best and highest Lord, and thereby lost the favour of all my friends, relations, and acquaintance of this world. To the account of which most happy exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many particularities of my youthful life. Yet one passage I am willing to mention, for the effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:

My father being then in the commission of the peace, and going to a petty sessions at Watlington, I waited on him thither. And

when we came near the town, the coachman seeing a nearer and easier way than the common road; through a corn-field, and that it was wide enough for the wheels to run, without endamaging the corn, turned down there. Which being observed by an husband-man, who was at plough not far off, he ran to us; and stopping the coach, poured forth a mouthful of complaints, in none of the best language, for driving over the corn. My father mildly answered him, that if there was an offence committed, he must rather impute it to his servant, than himself; since he neither directed him to drive that way, nor knew which way he drove. Yet added, that he was going to such an inn at the town; whither if he came, he would make him full satisfaction, for whatsoever damage he had received thereby. And so on we went, the man venting his discontent as he went back, in angry accents. At the town, upon enquiry, we understood that it was a way often used, and without damage, being broad enough; but that it was not the common road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough: wherefore my father bid his man drive home that way.

It was late in the evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrelsome man, who had troubled himself and us in the morning, having gotten another lusty fellow like himself to assist him, way-layed us in the night, expecting we would return the same way we

came. But when they found we did not, but took the common way, they, angry that they were disappointed, and loath to lose their purpose, which was to put an abuse upon us, coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the horses' bridles, stopt them from going on.— My father asking his man what the reason was that he went not on, was answered, that there were two men at the horses' heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward. Whereupon my father, opening the boot, stepped out, and I followed close at his heels. Going up to the place where the men stood, he demanded of them the reason of this assault. They said we were upon the corn. We knew by the routs, we were not on the corn, but in the common way, and told them so. But they told us, they were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again. My father endeavoured, by gentle reasoning, to persuade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the danger of the law, which they were run too far into already; but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their clubs, for each of them had a great club in his hand, somewhat like those which are called quarter staves. They thereupon, laughing, told him, they did not bring them thither for that end. There-

upon my father, turning his head to me, said, Tom, disarm them.

I stood ready at his elbow, waiting only for the word of command. For being naturally of a bold spirit, full then of youthful heat, and that too heightened by the sense I had, not only of the abuse, but insolent behaviour of those rude fellows, my blood began to boil, and my fingers itched, as the saying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore, stepping boldly forward to lay hold on the staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, sirrah, deliver your weapon. He thereupon raised his club (which was big enough to have knocked down an ox) intending, no doubt, to have knocked me down with it; as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an eye, whipped out my rapier, and made a pass upon him. I could not have failed running of him through up to the hilt; had he stood his ground: but the sudden and unexpected sight of my bright blade, glittering in the dark night, did so amaze and terrify the man; that slipping aside, he avoided my thrust; and letting his staff sink, betook himself to his heels for safety; which his companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could: but *timor addidit*, alas, fear gave him wings, and made him swiftly fly: so that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran, the more ground he gained on me; so that I could not overtake him: which made me think he took shelter under

some bush; which he knew where to find, though I did not. Meanwhile the coachman (who had sufficiently the outside of a man) excused himself from intermeddling, under pretence that he durst not leave his horses : and so left me to shift for myself. And I was gone so far beyond my knowledge, that I understood not which way I was to go, till by hallowing, and being hallowed to again, I was directed where to find my company.

We had easy means to have found out who these men were, the principal of them having been in the day time at the inn, and both quarrelled with the coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back : but since they came off no better in their attempt, my father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a prosecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my mind for what I had done, and designed to have done in this case ; but went on, in a sort of bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any man that should make the like attempt, or put any affront upon us : and for that reason, seldom went afterwards upon those public services, without a loaded pistol in my pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to call me out of the spirit and ways of the world, and give me the knowledge of his saving truth ; whereby the actions of my forepast life were set in order before me, a sort of horror siezed on me, when I considered how near I had been

to the staining of my hands with human blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often since as the matter has come into my remembrance, my soul has blessed the Lord for my deliverance; and thanksgivings and praises have arisen in my heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to him who preserved, and with-held me from shedding man's blood. Which is the reason for which I have given this account of that action, that others may be warned by it.

1658. About this time my dear and honoured mother departed this life, who was indeed a woman of singular worth and virtue; she having a little before heard of the death of her eldest son, who falling under the displeasure of my father, for refusing to resign his interest in an estate which my father sold, and thereupon desired that he might have leave to travel, in hopes that time and absence might work a reconciliation, went into Ireland, with a person powerful there in those times, by whose means he was quickly preferred to a place of trust and profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my father's abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendship with the Lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Penington, Esq; to continue which, he sometimes visited them at their country-lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Canham-lodge near Reading. And having heard



that they were come to live upon their own estate at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he went one day to visit them there, and to return at night; taking me with him.

1659. But very much surprised we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found they were become Quakers; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had, till then, scarce heard of.

So great a change, from a free, debonair and courtly sort of behaviour, which we formerly had found them in, to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to understand the ground or occasion of this change; there being some other strangers with them, related to Isaac Penington, who came that morning from London to visit them also.

For my part, I sought, and at length found means to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her after my accustomed manner, with intention to engage her in some discourse, which might introduce conversation on the foot of our former acquaintance; though she treated me with a courteous mien, yet, as

young as she was, the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself; as to pursue any further converse with her; wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder (as I thought at least) of mind.

We stayed dinner, which was very handsome; and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse; which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst ourselves; the weightiness that was upon their spirits and countenances, keeping down the lightness that would have been up in us. We stayed notwithstanding till the rest of the company took leave of them: and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good effect that visit had upon my father, who was then in the commission for the peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable opinion of, and carriage towards those people when they came in his way; as not long after one of them did. For a young man, who lived in Buckinghamshire, came on a first-day to the church, so called, at a town called Chinner, a mile from Crowell, having it seems; a pressure on his mind to say something to the minister of that parish. He being an acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear

him, as it did then. The young man stood in the aisle before the pulpit, all the time of the sermon ; not speaking a word till the sermon and prayer after it was ended ; and then spake a few words to the priest. Of which all that I could hear was, that the prayer of the wicked is abomination to the Lord ; and that God heareth not sinners.

Somewhat more, I think, he did say, which I could not distinctly hear, for the noise the people made, and, more probably he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the officers, who took him into custody, and led him out, in order to carry him before my father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my father a fair account of the matter, before they came. I told him the young man behaved himself quietly and peaceably ; spake not a word till the minister had quite done his service ; and that what he then spake was but short ; and was delivered without passion, or ill language. This I knew would furnish my father with a fair ground, whereon to discharge the man, if he would.

And accordingly, when they came and made an high complaint against the man, who said little for himself ; my father, having examined the officers who brought him, what the words that he spake were, (which they did not well agree in) and at what time he spake them, which they all agreed to be after the minister had done, and then whether he gave the min-

ister any reviling language; or endeavoured to raise a tumult among the people, which they could not charge him with: not finding that he had broken the law, he counselled the young man to be careful that he did not make; or occasion any public disturbances, and so dismissed him; which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my father, having gotten some further account of the people called Quakers, and being desirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another visit to Isaac Penington and his wife, at their house called the Grange, in Peter's-Chalfont; and took both my sisters and me with him.

It was in the tenth month, in the year 1650; that we went thither; where we found a very kind reception, and tarried some days: one day, at least, the longer, for that, while we were there, a meeting was appointed, at a place about a mile from thence; to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a farm-house, called the Grove; which, having formerly been a gentleman's seat, had a very large hall, and that well filled.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, besides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Nailor: but none spake there at that time, but Edward Burrough. Next to whom, as it were under him, it was my lot to sit, on a stool by the side of a long table, on which he sat; and I drank in his words with desire: for they not only answered my

understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was ended, our friends took us home with them again; and after supper, the evenings being long, the servants of the family, who were Quakers, were called in, and we all sat down in silence. But long we had not so sat, before Edward Burrough began to speak among us. And although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my father's religious copy-hold, as the phrase is. And he, having been from his youth a professor, though not joined in that which is called close communion with any one sort; and valuing himself upon the knowledge he esteemed himself to have, in the various notions of each profession, thought he had now a fair opportunity to display his knowledge; and thereupon began to make objections against what had been delivered.

The subject of the discourse was, *the universal free grace of God to all mankind*. To which he opposed the calvinistical tenet of particular and personal PREDESTINATION. In defence of which indefensible notion, he found himself more at a loss than he expected. Edward Burrough said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent. But James Nailor interposing, handled the the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seem-

ed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my father found it, which made him willing to drop the discourse.

As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue, and might have been, for ought I then knew, a scholar; which made me the less to admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Nailor, had the greater force upon me, because he looked but like a plain, simple country-man, having the appearance of an husband-man, or a shephêrd.

As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his side, so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an extremity on their side. But treating him in a soft and gentle manner, did, after a while, let fall the discourse: and then we withdrew to our respective chambers.

The next morning we prepared to return home, that is, my father, my younger sister, and myself: for my elder sister was gone before, by the stage coach, to London. And when, having taken our leaves of our friends, we went forth; they, with Edward Burrough, accompanying us to the gate: he there directed his speech, in a few words to each of us severally; according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again; they asking him what he thought of us: he answered them, (as they afterwards told me) to this effect, as for the old man; he is settled on his lees;

and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well, if he does not lose it. And surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I knew I ailed something more than ordinary; and my heart was very heavy.

I found it was not so with my father and sister; for as I rode after the coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other, but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on horseback, kept much out of sight.

By that time we got home it was night. And the next day, being the first day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the minister of Chinner; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that function. After the sermon, I went with him to his house, and in a freedom of discourse, (which, from a certain intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him,) told him where I had been, what company I had met with there, and what observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them, as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome reflections on them.

I had a desire to go to another meeting of the Quakers; and bid my father's man en-

quire, ~~if~~ there was any in the country thereabouts. He thereupon told me, he had heard at Isaac Penington's, that there was to be a meeting at High-Wiccomb, on Thursday next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was seven miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a coursing, than to a meeting, I let my gray-hound run by my horse's side.

When I came there, and had set up my horse at an inn, I was at a loss how to find the house where the meeting was to be. I knew it not; and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore, having ordered the hostler to take care of my dog, I went into the street, and stood at the inn-gate; musing with myself what course to take. But I had not stood long, ere I saw an horse-man riding along the street, whom I remembered I had seen before at Isaac Penington's, and he put up his horse at the same inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the house, which proved to be John Raunce's, I saw the people sitting together in an outer room; wherefore I stepped in and sat down on the first void seat, the end of a bench just within the door; having my sword by my side, and black clothes on, which drew some eyes upon me. It was not long ere one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, his name



was Samuel Thornton; and what he spake was very suitable, and of good service to me; for it reached home, as if it had been directed to me.

As soon as ever the meeting was ended, and the people began to rise, I, being next the door, stepped out quickly; and hastening to my inn, took horse immediately homewards: and, so far as I remember, my having been gone was not taken notice of by my father.

This latter meeting was like the clinching of a nail; confirming and fastening in my mind, those good principles, which had sunk into me at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my breast, tending to the work of a new creation in me. The general trouble and confusion of mind, which had for some days lain heavy upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct discovery of the particular cause for which it came, began now to wear off; and some glimmerings of light began to break forth in me; which let me see my inward state and condition towards God. The light which before had shone in my darkness, and the darkness could not comprehend it, began now to shine out of darkness, and in some measure discovered to me what it was, that had before clouded me, and brought that sadness and trouble upon me. And now I saw, that although I had been in a great degree pre-

served from the common immoralities and gross pollutions of the world, yet the spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into pride, flattery, vanity and superfluity; all which was naught. I found there were many plants growing in me, which were not of the heavenly Father's planting; and that all these, of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear, must be plucked up.

Now was all my former life ripped up, and my sins by degrees were set in order before me. And though they looked not with so black a hue, and so deep a dye, as those of the lewdest sort of people did, yet I found that all sin, even that which had the fairest or finest show, as well as that which was more course and foul, brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation on the soul that sinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof.

Now also did I receive a new law, an inward law, super-added to the outward; *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*, which wrought in me against all evil, not only in deed, and in word, but even in thought also: so that every thing was brought to judgment, and judgment passed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former ways, and course of life; for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to deal with me, in somewhat like manner as he

had dealt with his people Israel of old, when they had transgressed his righteous law, whom by his prophet he called back, required to put away the evil of their doings : bidding them ; first, *cease to do evil* ; then, *learn to do well* : before he would admit them to reason with him ; and before he would impart to them the effects of his free mercy. Isa. i. 16, 17.

I was now required, by this inward spiritual law, *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*, to put away the evil of my doings ; and to cease to do evil. And what, in particulars, the evil was, which I was required to put away, and to cease from : that measure of the divine light, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me : and what the light made manifest to be evil, judgment passed upon.

So that here began to be a way cast up before me, for to walk in : a direct and plain way ; so plain, that a way-faring-man, how weak and simple soever, though a fool to the wisdom, and in the judgment of the world, could not err, while he continued to walk in it : the error coming in by his going out of it. And this way, with respect to me, I saw was that measure of divine light, which was manifested in me ; by which the evil of my doings, which I was to put away and to cease from, was discovered to me.

By this divine light then I saw, that though I had not the evil of the common uncleanness, debauchery, profaneness, and pollutions of

the world to put away; because I had, through the great goodness of God, and a civil education, been preserved out of those grosser evils: yet I had many other evils to put away, and to cease from; some of which were not by the world (which lies in wickedness, 1 John, v. 19.) accounted evils: but by the light of Christ were made manifest to me to be evils, and as such, condemned in me.

As particularly those fruits and effects of PRIDE, that discover themselves in the vanity and superfluity of apparel: which I, as far as my ability would extend to, took, alas! too much delight in. This evil of my doings I was required to put away, and cease from: and judgment lay upon me till I did so.—Wherefore, in obedience to the inward law (which agreed with the outward, 1 Tim. ii. 9. 1 Pet. iii. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 8. Jam. i. 21.) I took off from my apparel those unnecessary trimmings of lace, ribbands, and useless buttons, which had no real service: but were set on only for that, which was by mistake, called ornament. And I ceased to wear rings.

Again, the giving of flattering titles to men, between whom and me there was not any relation, to which such titles could be pretended to belong. This was an evil I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready artist in: therefore this evil also was I required to put away, and cease from. So that thenceforward I durst not say, sir, master, my lord, madam (or my dame) or say, your

servant, to any one to whom I did not stand in the real relation of a servant; which I had never done to any.

Again, respect of persons in uncovering the head, and bowing the knee, or body in salutations, was a practice I had been much in the use of. And this being one of the vain customs of the world, introduced by the spirit of the world, instead of the true honour, which this is a false representation of; and used in deceit, as a token of respect, by persons one to another. And besides, this being a type, and proper emblem of that divine honour which all ought to pay to Almighty God, and which all, of all sorts, who take upon them the christian name, appear in, when they offer their prayers to him; and therefore should not be given to men. I found this to be one of those evils, which I had been too long doing; therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, the corrupt and unsound form of speaking in the plural number to a single person, you to one, instead of thou; contrary to the pure, plain, and single language of truth, thou to one, and you to more than one, which has always been used by God to men, and men to God, as well as one to another, from the oldest record of time, till corrupt men, for corrupt ends, in later and corrupt times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt nature in men, brought in that false and senseless way of speaking, you to one; which

hath since corrupted the modern languages, and hath greatly debased the spirits, and depraved the manners of men. This evil custom I had been as forward in as others; and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more evil customs, which had sprang up in the night of darkness, and general apostacy from the truth, and true religion; were now, by the inshining of this pure ray of divine light in my conscience, gradually discovered to me, to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a witness against.

But so subtilly, and withal so powerfully, did the enemy work upon the weak part in me, as to persuade me, that in these things, I ought to make a difference between my father and all other men: and that therefore, though I did disuse these tokens of respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my father. And so far did this wile of his prevail upon me, through a fear lest I should do amiss, in withdrawing any sort of respect or honour from my father, which was due unto him; that being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to demean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to language and gesture as I had always done before. And so long as I did so, standing bare before him, and giving him the accustomed language, he

he did not express, (whatever he thought,) any dislike of me.

But as to myself, and the work begun in me; I found it was not enough for me to cease to do evil; though that was a good and a great step. I had another lesson before me, which was, to learn to do well: which I could by no means do, till I had given up with full purpose of mind, to cease from doing evil. And when I had done that, the enemy took advantage of my weakness to mislead me again.

For whereas I ought to have waited in the light, for direction and guidance into, and in the way of well doing; and not to have moved till the divine spirit, a manifestation of which the Lord hath been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by: the enemy, transforming himself into the appearance of an angel of light, offered himself, in that appearance, to be my guide and leader into the performance of religious exercises. And I, not then knowing the wiles of satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable service to God; too readily yielded myself to the conduct of my enemy, instead of my friend.

He thereupon humouring the warmth and zeal of my spirit, put me upon religious performances, in my own will, in my own time, and in my own strength; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord; if they had been performed in his will, in his

time, and in the ability which he gives. But being wrought in the will of man, and at the prompting of the evil one; no wonder that it did me hurt instead of good.

I read abundantly in the Bible; and would set myself tasks in reading; enjoying myself to read so many chapters, sometimes an whole book, or long epistle, at a time. And I thought that time well spent, though I was not much the wiser for what I had read; reading it too cursorily, and without the true guide, the holy spirit, which alone could open the understanding, and give the true sense of what was read.

I prayed often, and drew out my prayers to a great length: and appointed unto myself certain set times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to say in a day; yet knew not, mean while, what true prayer was. Which stands not in words, though the words which are uttered in the movings of the holy spirit are very available; but in the breathing of the soul to the heavenly Father, through the operation of the holy spirit, who maketh intercession, sometimes in words, and sometimes with sighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear, and answer.

This will-worship, which all is, that is performed in the will of man, and not in the movings of the holy spirit, was a great hurt to me and hinderance of my spiritual growth in the way of truth. But my heavenly Father, who knew the sincerity of my soul to him, and the



heartly desire I had to serve him, had compassion on me; and in due time was graciously pleased to illuminate my understanding farther, and to open in me an eye to discern the false spirit, and its way of working, from the true; and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had, by his subtilty, gained such advantages over me, yet I went on notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my godly resolution, of ceasing from, and denying those things, which I was now convinced in my conscience were evil. And on this account a great trial came quickly on me. For the general quarter-sessions for the peace coming on, my father, willing to excuse himself from a dirty journey, commanded me to get up betimes, and go to Oxford, and deliver in the recognizances he had taken; and bring him an account what justices were on the bench, and what principal pleas were before them; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those services.

I, who knew how it stood with me better than he did, felt a weight come over me, as soon as he had spoken the word. For I presently saw, it would bring a very great exercise upon me. But having never resisted his will, in any thing that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any excuse; but, ordering an horse to be ready for me early in the morning, I went to bed, having great struglings in my breast.

For the enemy came in upon me like a flood, and set many difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest pitch, by representing them as mountains, which I should never be able to get over; and, alas! that faith which could remove such mountains, and cast them into the sea, was but very small and weak in me.

He cast into my mind, not only how I should behave myself in court, and despatch the business I was sent about; but how I should demean myself towards my acquaintance, of which I had many in that city, with whom I was wont to be jolly: whereas now I could not put off my hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary titles, as they are called, nor use the corrupt language of you to any one of them; but must keep to the plain and true language of thou and thee.

Much of this nature revolved in my mind, thrown in by the enemy, to discourage and cast me down. And I had none to have recourse to, for counsel or help, but the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my supplications, with earnest cries and breathings of soul, that he, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great exercise, and keep me faithful to himself therein. And after some time, he was pleased to compose my mind to stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next morning, I got up, and found my spirit pretty calm and quiet; yet not with-

out a fear upon me, lest I should slip and let fall the testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise: O my God, preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me! suffer me not to be drawn into evil, how much scorn and contempt soever may be cast upon me!

Thus was my spirit exercised on the way almost continually. And when I was come within a mile or two of the city, whom should I meet upon the way coming from thence, but Edward Burrough! I rode in a mountier-cap, (a dress more used then, than now) and so did he: and because the weather was exceeding sharp, we both had drawn our caps down, to shelter our faces from the cold; and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking notice one of the other, till a few days after meeting again, and observing each others dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, O! how glad should I have been of a word of encouragement and counsel from him, when I was under that weighty exercise of mind! but the Lord saw it was not good for me, that my reliance might be wholly upon him, and not on man.

When I had set up my horse, I went directly to the hall, where the sessions were held; where I had been but a very little while, before a knot of my old acquaintances espying me, came to me. One of these was a scholar in his gown, another a surgeon of that city,

both my school-fellows, and fellow-boarders at Thame-school, and the third a country gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me after the usual manner, putting off their hats and bowing, and saying, your humble servant, sir; expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my cap, nor bowing my knee in way of congee to them, they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again, for a while, without a word speaking.

At length the surgeon, a brisk young man, who stood nearest to me, clapping his hand in a familiar way, upon my shoulder, and smiling on me, said, what! Tom, a Quaker! to which I readily, and cheerfully answered, yes, a Quaker. And as the words passed out of my mouth, I felt joy spring in my heart: for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them, into a compliance with them; and that I had strength and boldness given me, to confess myself to be one of that despised people.

They staid not long with me, nor said any more, that I remember, to me; but looking somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their leave of me, going off in the same ceremonious manner as they came on.

After they were gone, I walked a while about the hall, and went up nearer to the court; to observe both what justices were on the bench, and what business they had before them. And I went in fear, not of what they could or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but lest I should be surprised, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the court adjourned to go to dinner, and that time I took to go to the clerk of the peace, at his house, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his manner; for he had a great respect for my father, and a kind regard for me. And though he was at first somewhat startled at my carriage and language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any reflection, or show of lightness. I delivered him the recognizances, which my father had sent; and having done the business I came upon, withdrew, and went to my inn to refresh myself, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take horse, looking out in the street, I saw two or three justices, standing just in the way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh concern upon me. I knew, if they saw me, they would know me: and I concluded, if they knew me, they would stop me to inquire after my father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This doubting brought weakness on me; and that weakness led to contrivance, how I might avoid this trial. I knew the city pretty well, and remembered there was a back way, which though somewhat about, would bring me out of town, without passing by those justices; yet loath I was to go that way. Wherefore I staid a pretty time in hopes they would have parted company, or removed to some other place, out of my way. But when I had waited till I was uneasy for losing so much time; having entered into reasonings with flesh and blood, the weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back way; which brought trouble and grief upon my spirit for having shunned the cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender eye; and seeing my heart was right to him, and that what I had done was merely through weakness and fear of falling, and that I was sensible of my failing therein, and sorry for it, he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak peace to me again. So that before I got home, as when I went in the morning, my heart was full of breathing prayer to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that days exercise: so now at my return in the evening, my heart was full of thankful acknowledgements, and praises unto him, for his great goodness and favour to me, in having thus far preserved, and kept me from falling into any thing that might have brought dishonour

to his holy name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found peace and acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my obedience to the convictions I had received by his holy spirit in me, yet was not the vail so done away or fully rent, but that there still remained a cloud upon my understanding, with respect to my carriage towards my father; and that notion, which the enemy had brought into my mind, that I ought to put such a difference between him and all others, as that, on the account of paternal relation, I should still deport myself towards him, both in gesture and language, as I had always heretofore done, did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my father bare-headed, as I used to do; and gave him a particular account of the business he had given me in command, in such manner, that he, observing no alteration in my carriage towards him, found no cause to take offence at me.

I had felt for some time before, an earnest desire of mind to go again to Isaac Pennington's. And I began to question whether, when my father should come (as I concluded ere long he would) to understand I inclined to settle among the people called Quakers, he would permit me the command of his horses, as before. Wherefore, in the morning when I went to Oxford, I gave direction to a servant

of his, to go that day to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I knew had a riding nag to put off, either by sale, or to be kept for his work; and desire him, in my name, to send him to me; which he did, and I found him in the stable when I came home.

On this nag I designed to ride next day to Isaac Pennington's: and in order thereunto, arose betimes and got myself ready for the journey. But because I would pay all due respects to my father, and not go without his consent, or knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him, for he was not yet stirring, to acquaint him, that I had a purpose to go to Isaac Pennington's, and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service to them. He sent me word, he would speak with me before I went; and would have me come up to him, which I did, and stood by his bed-side.

Then in a mild and gentle tone, he said, I understand you have a mind to go to Mr. Pennington's. I answered, I have so. Why, said he, I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few days ago; and unless you had business with them, do not you think it will look oddly? I said I thought not. I doubt, said he you will tire them with your company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you. If, replied I, I find any thing of that, I will make the shorter stay. But, said he, can you propose any sort of business with them, more than a mere



visit? Yes, said I, I propose to myself not only to see them, but to have some discourse with them. Why, said he, in a tone a little harsher, I hope you do not incline to be of their way. Truly, answered I, I like them and their way very well, so far as I yet understand it; and I am willing to go to them, that I may understand it better.

Thereupon he began to reckon up a bead-roll of faults against the Quakers; telling me they were a rude unmannerly people, that would not give civil respect or honour to their superiors; no, not to magistrates; that they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodest, shameless people; and that one of them stripped himself stark-naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market-days in great towns.

To all the other charges, I answered only, that perhaps they might be either misreported, or misunderstood, as the best of people had sometimes been. But to the last charge, of going naked, a particular answer, by way of instance, was just then brought into my mind, and put into my mouth, which I had not thought of before; and that was the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time,—*Isai. xx. 4*. Aye, said my father, but you must consider, that he was a prophet of the Lord, and had an express command from God to go so. Yes sir, replied I, I do consider that, but I consider

also, that the Jews among whom he lived, did not own him for a prophet, nor believe that he had such a command from God. And, added I, how know we but that this Quaker may be a prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some reason which we understand not.

This put my father to a stand; so that letting fall his charges against the Quakers, he only said, I would wish you not to go so soon, but take a little time to consider of it; you may visit Mr. Pennington hereafter. Nay, sir, replied I, pray do not hinder my going now, for I have so strong a desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear. And as I spake those words, I withdrew gently to the chamber door; and then hastening down stairs, went immediately to the stable, where finding my horse ready bridled, I forthwith mounted, and went off; lest I should receive a countermand.

This discourse with my father had cast me somewhat back in my journey, and it being fifteen long miles thither, the ways bad, and my nag but small, it was in the afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the servant that took my horse, that there was then a meeting in the house, as there was weekly on that day, which was the fourth day of the week, though I, till then, understood it not, I hastened in; and knowing the rooms, went directly to the little parlour, where I found a few friends sitting together in silence;

and I sat down among them, well satisfied, though without words.

When the meeting was ended, and those of the company, who were strangers withdrawn, I addressed myself to Isaac Pennington and his wife, who received me courteously ; but not knowing what exercise I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard any thing of me since I had been there before, in another garb, were not forward at first to lay sudden hands on me ; which I observed, and did not dislike. But as they came to see a change in me, not in habit only, but in gesture, speech and carriage, and which was more, in countenance also, (for the exercise I had passed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a visible character of gravity upon my face ;) they were exceeding kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the family, a friend, whose name was Anne Curtis, the wife of Thomas Curtis of Reading, who was come upon a visit to them, and particularly to see Mary Pennington's daughter Guli, who had been ill of the small pox, since I had been there before. Betwixt Mary Pennington and this friend, I observed some private discourse, and whisperings ; and I had an apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the freedom to ask Mary Pennington, if my coming thither had occasioned any inconvenience in the family ? She asked me, if I had had the small pox ?

I told her no. She then told me, her daughter had newly had them; and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them; but intended to have come down, and sat with them in the parlour that evening; yet would rather forbear till another time, than endanger me. And that that was the matter they had been discoursing of. I assured her, that I had always been, and then, more especially, was free from any apprehension of danger in that respect; and therefore intreated that her daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me, yet my importunity prevailed, and after supper she did come down, and sit with us; and though the marks of the distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no impression upon me, faith keeping out fear.

We spent much of the evening in retiredness of mind, our spirits being weightily gathered inward; so that not much discourse passed among us; neither they to me nor I to them offered any occasion. Yet I had good satisfaction in that stillness; feeling my spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to bed, they let me know that there was to be a meeting at Wiccomb next day; and that some of the family would go to it. I was very glad of it, for I greatly desired to go to meetings; and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next morn-

ing, Isaac Pennington himself went, having Anne Curtis with him; and I accompanied them.

At Wiccomb we met with Edward Burrough; who came from Oxford thither, that day that I, going thither, met him on the way: and having both our mountier caps on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the road, unknown.

This was a monthly meeting, consisting of friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts; so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair room in Jeremiah Steevens's house; the room where I had been at a meeting before, in John Raunce's house, being too little to receive us.

A very good meeting was this in itself, and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power; and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share therein. For I felt some of that divine power, working my spirit into a great tenderness; and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein, but rending also the vail somewhat further, and clearing my understanding in some other things, which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his discoveries to me by degrees; that the sight of too great a work, and too many enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me, and make me faint.

When the meeting was ended, the friends of the town, taking notice that I was the man that had been at their meeting the week before, whom they then did not know; some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me staid with them; but Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Pennington, he invited me to go back with him; which I willingly consented to. For the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company; and so away we rode together.

But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation: for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement, to have opened myself to him, and to have poured forth my complaints, fears, doubts and questionings into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached, and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me, chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the counsellor that could resolve all all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open, and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar, and affectionately kind to me, yet at this time he kept himself somewhat reserved, and showed only common kindness to me.

Next day we parted. He for London, I home; under a very great weight and exer-

cise upon my spirit. For I now saw, in and by the further openings of the divine light in me, that the enemy, by his false reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to my carriage towards my father. For I now clearly saw, that the honour due to parents, did not consist in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them; but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services unto them.—Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that case, though it was through ignorance, so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myself the guilt of wilful disobedience; which I well knew would draw after it divine displeasure and judgement.

Hereupon the enemy assaulted me afresh; setting before me the danger I should run myself into, of provoking my father to use severity towards me; and perhaps to the casting me utterly off. But over this temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me; and gave me faith to believe, that he would bear me through whatever might befall me on that account. Wherefore, I resolved, in the strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his requirings, whatever might come on it.

Thus labouring under various exercises on the way, I at length got home; expecting I should have but a rough reception from my father. But when I came home, I under-

stood my father was from home. Wherefore I sat down by the fire in the kitchen; keeping my mind retired to the Lord, with breathings of spirit to him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some time I heard the coach drive in, which put me into a little fear, and a sort of shivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myself; and as soon as I saw him, I arose up and advanced a step or two towards him, with my head covered, said, Isaac Pennington and his wife remember their loves to thee.

He made a stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the word thee to him, he, with a stern countenance, and tone that spake high displeasure, only said, I shall talk with you, sir, another time; and so hastening from me, went into the parlour; and I saw him no more that night.

Though I foresaw there was a storm arising, the apprehension of which was uneasy to me, yet the peace which I felt in my own breast, raised in me a return of thanksgivings to the Lord, for his gracious supporting hand, which had thus far carried me through this exercise, with humble cries in spirit to him, that he would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the end; and uphold me, that I might not fall.



My spirit longed to be among friends, and to be at some meeting with them on the first-day, which now drew on; this being the sixth-day night. Wherefore, I purposed to go to Oxford on the morrow, which was the seventh-day of the week, having heard there was a meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my horse to be made ready betimes, I got up in the morning and made myself ready also. Yet before I would go, that I might be as observant to my father as possibly I could, I desired my sister to go up to him in his chamber, and acquaint him that I had a mind to go to Oxford; and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service there. He bid her tell me, he would not have me go till he had spoken with me. And getting up immediately, he hastened down to me before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my hat on, his passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his fists; and having by that means somewhat vented his anger, he plucked off my hat and threw it away. Then stepping hastily out to the stable, and seeing my borrowed nag stand ready saddled and bridled, he asked his man whence that horse came? who telling him he fetched it from Mr.—— such an one's, then ride him presently back, said my father, and tell Mr.—— I desire he will never lend my son an horse again, unless he brings a note from me.

The poor fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made excuses and delays; but my father was positive in his command, and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much as to take his breakfast, though he had five miles to ride; nor would he himself stir from the stable till he had seen the man mounted and gone.

Then coming in, he went up into his chamber to make himself more fully ready; thinking he had me safe enough now my horse was gone; for I took so much delight in riding, that I seldom went on foot.

But while he was dressing himself in his chamber, I, who understood what had been done, changing my boots for shoes, took another hat, and acquainting my sister, who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in, whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to Wiccomb, having seven long miles thither; which yet seemed little and easy to me, from the desire I had to be among Friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a load of grief, from the sense I had of the opposition and hardship I was to expect from my father, the enemy took advantage to assault me again, casting a doubt into my mind, whether I had done well in thus coming away from my father, without his leave or knowledge?

I was quiet and peaceable in my spirit before this question was darted into me; but after that, disturbance and trouble seized upon

me, so that I was at a stand what to do; whether to go forward or backward. Fear of offending inclined me to go back, but desire of the meeting and to be with Friends, pressed me to go forward.

I stood still awhile, to consider and weigh, as well as I could, the matter. I was sensibly satisfied, that I had not left my father with any intention of undutifulness, or disrespect to him; but merely in obedience to that drawing of spirit, which I was persuaded was of the Lord, to join with his people in worshipping him; and this made me easy.

But then the enemy, to make me uneasy again, objected, but how could that drawing be of the Lord which drew me to disobey my father?

I considered thereupon the extent of paternal power, which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited; but had bounds set unto it. So that as in civil matters it was restrained to things lawful, so in spiritual and religious cases, it had not a compulsory power over conscience; which ought to be subject to the heavenly father. And therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children, yet it is with this limitation, *in the Lord: children obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right: 1 Pet. ii. 1.*

This turned the scale for going forward; and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some fluctuations of mind; from the besettings of the enemy. Wherefore, although

I knew that outward signs did not properly belong to the gospel dispensation, yet for my better assurance, I did, in fear and great humility, beseech the Lord, that he would be pleased so far to condescend to the weakness of his servant, as to give me a sign; by which I might certainly know whether my way was right before him, or not.

The sign which I asked was, that if I had done wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or but coldly received, at the place I was going to; but if this mine undertaking was right in his sight, he would give me favour with them I went to; so that they should receive me with hearty kindness and demonstrations of love. Accordingly, when I came to John Raunce's house (which, being so much a stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the meeting was commonly held there;) they received me with more than ordinary kindness; especially Frances Raunce, John Raunce's then wife; who was both a grave and motherly woman, and had a hearty love to truth, and tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it. And this so kind reception, confirming me in the belief, that my undertaking was approved of by the Lord, gave great satisfaction and ease to my mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefor.

Thus it fared with me there; but at home it fared otherwise with my father. He supposing I had betaken myself to my chamber, when

he took my hat from me, made no inquiry after me till evening came; and then sitting by the fire, and considering that the weather was very cold, he said to my sister who sat by him, go up to your brother's chamber and call him down; it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen fit, till he has caught cold. Alas! sir, said she, he is not in his chamber, nor in the house neither. At that my father startling, said, why where is he then? I know not, sir, said she, where he is: but I know that when he saw you had sent away his horse, he put on shoes and went out on foot; and I have not seen him since. And indeed, sir, added she, I do not wonder at his going away, considering how you used him. This put my father into a great fright, doubting I was gone quite away; and so great a passion of grief seized on him, that he forbore not to weep, and to cry out aloud, so that the family heard him: Oh! my son! I shall never see him more! for he is of so bold and resolute a spirit, that he will run himself into danger, and so may be thrown into some gaol or other, where he may lie and die, before I can hear of him. Then bidding her light him up to his chamber, he went immediately to bed; where he lay restless and groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest part of the night.

1659. Next morning my sister sent a man, whom for his love to me, she knew she could trust, to give me this account: and though by

him she sent me also fresh linen for my use, in case I should go further, or stay out longer, yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much grief to my father. and I would have returned that evening after the meeting, but the friends would not permit it; for the meeting would in likelihood end late, the days being short, and the way was long and dirty. And besides, John Raunce told me, that he had something on his mind to speak to my father; and that, if I would stay till the next day he would go down with me; hoping perhaps, that while my father was under this sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the morrow, I dismissed the man with the things he brought; bidding him tell my sister, I intended, God willing, to return home to-morrow; and charging him not to let any body else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next morning John Raunce and I set out; and when we were come to the end of the town, we agreed, that he should go before, and knock at the great gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the back way. He did so; and when a servant came to open the gate, he asking if the justice were at home, she told him yes, and desiring him to come in, and sit down in the hall, went and ac-

quainted her master that there was one who desired to speak with him. He, supposing it was one that came for justice, went readily into the hall to him. But he was not a little surprised, when he found it was a Quaker. Yet not knowing on what account he came, he staid to hear his business. But when he found it was about me, he fell somewhat sharply on him.

In this time I was come, by the back way, into the kitchen; and hearing my father's voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well, but I was soon assured of that. For my father having quickly enough of a Quaker's company, left John Raunce in the hall, and came into the kitchen; where he was more surprised to find me.

The sight of my hat upon my head made him presently forget, that I was that son of his, whom he had so lately lamented as lost; and his passion of grief turning into anger, he could not contain himself, but running upon me with both his hands, first violently snatched off my hat, and threw it away, then giving me some buffets on my head, he said, sirrah, get you up to your chamber.

I forthwith went, he following me at the heels, and now and then giving me a wherret on the ear. The way to my chamber lying through the hall where John Raunce was, he poor man, might see and be sorry for, as I doubt not but he was, but could not help me.

This was sure an unaccountable thing, that my father should but a day before express so high a sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more, and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such violence, and that only because I did not put off my hat ; which he knew I did not keep on in disrespect to him, but upon a religious principle. But as this hat honour, as it was accounted, was grown to be a great idol, in those times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his servants in a steady testimony against it ; what suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some, who have been called in the Lord's vineyard at later hours, and since the heat of that day hath been much over, may be apt to account this testimony a small thing to suffer so much upon, as some have done, not only to beating, but to fines, and long and hard imprisonments ; yet they who in those times were faithfully exercised in and under it, durst not despise the day of small things, as knowing that he who should do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher testimonies.

I had now lost one of my hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on ; but did not keep it long, for the next time my father saw it on my head, he tore it violently from me ; and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore, I put on my mountier-cap, which was all I had left to wear



on my head ; and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear ; for as soon as my father came where I was, I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bear-headed, wherever I had occasion to go, within doors and without.

This was in the eleventh month, called January, and the weather sharp, so that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a cold in my head, that my face and head were much swelled ; and my gums had on them biles so sore, that I could neither chew meat, nor without difficulty swallow liquids. It held long, and I underwent much pain without much pity, except from my poor sister, who did what she could to give me ease ; and at length by frequent applications of figs and stoned raisins, toasted and laid to the biles as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for lancing, and soon after sunk ; then I had ease.

Now was I laid up as a kind of prisoner for the rest of this winter, having no means to go forth among friends, nor they liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the time much in my chamber, in waiting on the Lord, and in reading ; mostly in the Bible.

But whenever I had occasion to speak to my father, though I had no hat now to offend him, yet my language did as much ; for I durst not say to him, YOU, but THOU or THEE, as the occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his fists,

At one of these times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at such times, to go to my chamber; which I did, and he followed me to the bottom of the stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting blow, and in a very angry tone, said, sirrah, if ever I hear you say thou or thee to me again, I will strike your teeth down your throat. I was greatly grieved to hear him say so, and feeling a word rise in my heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly said unto him, would it not be just if God should serve thee so, when thou sayest thou or thee to him? Though his hand was up, I saw it sink, and his countenance fall, and he turned away and left me standing there. But I notwithstanding went up into my chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching him, that he would be pleased to open my father's eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what; and that he would turn his heart.

After this I had a pretty time of rest and quiet from these disturbances; my father not saying any thing to me, nor giving me occasion to say any thing to him. But I was still under a kind of confinement; unless I would have run about the country bare-headed, like a mad-man; which I did not see it was my place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad, and at liberty among my friends, would have been more pleasant to me, yet

home was at present my proper place ; a school in which I was to learn with patience to bear the cross : and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time, a fresh storm more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me ; the occasion whereof was this : my father having been in his younger years, more especially while he lived in London, a constant hearer of those who are called Puritan-preachers, had stored up a pretty stock of scripture-knowledge, did sometimes, not constantly, nor very often, cause his family to come together on a first-day in the evening, and expound a chapter to them, and pray. His family now, as well as his estate, was lessened ; for my mother was dead, my brother gone, and my elder sister at London ; and having put off his husbandry, he had put off with it most of his servants ; so that he had now but one man and one maid servant. It so fell out, that on a first-day night, he bid my sister who sat with him in the parlour, call in the servants to prayer.

Whether this was done as a trial upon me, or no, I know not, but a trial it proved to me ; for they loving me very well, and disliking my father's carriage to me, made no haste to go in ; but staid a second summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, instead of going to prayer, examined them, why they came not in when they were first called ; and the answer they gave

him being such, as rather heightened than abated his displeasure, he, with an angry tone, said, call in that fellow, meaning me, who was left alone in the kitchen, for he is the cause of all this; they, as they were backward to go in themselves, so were not forward to call me in, fearing the effect of my father's displeasure would fall upon me, as it soon did; for I, hearing what was said, and not staying for the call, went in of myself. And as soon as I was come in, my father discharged his displeasure on me, in very sharp and bitter expressions; which drew from me, in the grief of my heart, to see him so transported with passion, these few words; they that can pray with such a spirit, let them; for my part I cannot. With that my father flew upon me with both his fists, and not thinking that sufficient, stepped hastily to to the place where his cane stood, and catching that up, laid on me, I thought, with all his strength. And I being bare-headed, I thought his blows must needs have broken my scull, had I not laid mine arm over my head to defend it.

His man seeing this, and not able to contain himself, stepped in between us; and laying hold on the cane, by strength of hand held it so fast, that though he attempted not to take it away, yet he withheld my father from striking with it; which did but enrage him the more. I disliked this in the man, and bid him let go the cane and be gone,

which he immediately did ; and turning to be gone, had a blow on the shoulders for his pains ; which yet did not much hurt him.

But now my sister fearing lest my father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear ; adding, indeed, sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the case-ment and cry murder ; for I am afraid you will kill my brother. This stopped his hand ; and after some threatening speeches, he commanded me to get to my chamber, which I did, as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither soon after my sister followed me, to see my arm and dress it ; for it was, indeed, very much bruised and swelled, between the wrist and elbow ; and in some places the skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some time much pain in it, yet I had peace and quietness in my mind ; being more grieved for my father, than for myself, who I knew had hurt himself more than me.

This was, so far as I remember, the last time that ever my father called his family to prayer. And this was also the last time that ever he fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this, my elder sister, who in all the time of these exercises of mine, had been at London, returned home ; much troubled to find me a Quaker, a name of reproach and great contempt then ; and she being at London, had received, I suppose, the worst character of them. Yet, though she disliked the

people, her affectionate regard to me, made her rather pity than despise me; and the more, when she understood what hard usage I had met with.

The rest of this winter I spent in a lonesome solitary life; having none to converse with, none to unbosom myself unto, none to ask counsel of, none to seek relief from, but the Lord alone; who yet was more than all. And yet the company and society of faithful and judicious friends, would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my spiritual travel; in which I thought I made but a slow progress, my soul breathing after further attainments; the sense of which drew from me the following lines:

The winter tree  
Resembles me,  
Whose sap lies in its root:  
The spring draws nigh;  
As it, so I  
Shall bud, I hope, and shcote.

At length it pleased the Lord to move Isaac Pennington and his wife to make a visit to my father, and see how it fared with me, and very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome, had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all night; and much discourse they had with my father, both about the principle of truth in general, and me in

particular ; which I was not privy to. But one thing, I remember, I afterwards heard of, which was this.

When my father and we were at their house some months before, Mary Pennington, in some discourse between them, had told him how hardly her husband's father, Alderman Pennington, had dealt with him about his hat, which my father, (little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own case) did very much censure the Alderman for ; wondering that so wise a man as he was, should take notice of such a trivial thing as the putting off, or keeping on a hat ; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient acquaintance with him, and he having always had an high opinion of and respect for her ; she, who was a woman of great wisdom, of ready speech, and of a well resolved spirit, did press so close upon him with this home-argument, that he was utterly to seek, and at a loss how to defend himself.

After dinner next day, when they were ready to take coach to return home, she desired my father, that since my company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to go and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I should go, and made many objections against it, all which she answered and removed so clearly, that

not finding what excuse further to allege, he, at length left it to me; and I soon turned the scale for going.

We were come to the coach-side before this was concluded on; and I was ready to step in; when one of my sisters privately put my father in mind, that I had never a hat on. That somewhat startled him, for he did not think it fit I should go from home, and that so far, and to stay abroad, without a hat. Wherefore he whispered to her, to fetch me a hat, and he entertained them with some discourse in the mean time. But as soon as he saw the hat coming, he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him; but breaking off his discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in before the hat was brought to me.

I had not one penny of money about me, nor any, indeed, elsewhere. For my father, so soon as he saw that I would be a Quaker, took from me both what money I had, and every thing else of value, or that would have made money, as some plate buttons, rings, &c. pretending that he would keep them for me till I came to myself again, lest I, in the mean time should destroy them.

But as I had no money, so, being among my friends, I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it; though once upon a particular occasion I had like to have wanted it.—The case was thus.



I had been at Reading, and set out from thence on the first-day of the week, in the morning, intending to reach (as in point of time I well might) Isaac Pennington's, where the meeting was to be that day; but when I came to Maidenhead, a thorough fair-town, on the way, I was stopped by the watch for riding on that day.

The watchman, laying hold on the bridle, told me I must go with him to the constable; and accordingly, I making no resistance, suffered him to lead my horse to the constable's door. When we were come there, the constable told me I must go before the warden, who was the chief officer of that town, and bid the watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the warden's door, the constable knocked, and desired to speak with Mr. Warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the door, the constable said, sir, I have brought a man here to you, whom the watch took riding through the town. The warden was a budge old man; and I looked somewhat big too, having a good gelding under me, and a good riding coat on my back, both which my friend Isaac Pennington had kindly accommodated me with for that journey.

The warden therefore taking me to be, as the saying is, somebody, put off his hat, and made a low congee to me; but when he saw that I sat still, and neither bowed to him, nor moved my hat, he gave a start, and said

to the constable, you said you had brought a man, but he does not behave himself like a man.

I sat still upon my horse, and said not a word; but keeping my mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The warden then began to examine me, asking me whence I came, and whither I was going? I told him I came from Reading, and was going to Chalfont. He asked me why I did travel on that day? I told him I did not know that it would give any offence barely to ride or walk on that day, so long as I did not carry or drive any carriage, or horses laden with burthens. Why, said he, if your business was urgent, did you not take a pass from the mayor of Reading? Because, replied I, I did not know, nor think I should have needed one. Well, said he, I will not talk with you now, because it is time to go to church, but I will examine you further anon; and turning to the constable, have him, said he, to an inn, and bring him before me after dinner.

The naming of an inn put me in mind, that such public houses were places of expence; and I knew I had no money to defray it; wherefore, I said to the warden, before thou sendest me to an inn, which may occasion some expence, I think it needful to acquaint thee that I have no money.

At that the warden startled again; and turning quick upon me, said, how! no money!

how can that be? You do not look like a man that has no money. However I look, said I, I tell thee the truth, that I have no money; and I tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayest not bring any charge upon the town. I wonder, said he, what art you have got, that you can travel without money; you can do more, I assure you, than I can.

I making no answer, he went on and said, well, well, but if you have no money, you have a good horse under you; and we can distrain him for the charge. But, said I, the horse is not mine. No! said he, but you have a good coat on your back; and that, I hope is your own: No, said I, but it is not; for I borrowed both the horse and the coat.

With that the warden, holding up his hands, and smiling, said, bless me! I never met with such a man as you are before! What! were you set out by the parish? Then turning to the constable, he said, have him to the Grayhound, and bid the people be civil to him. Accordingly to the Grayhound I was led; my horse set up, and I put into a large room; and some account, I suppose, given of me to the people of the house.

This was new work to me; and what the issue of it would be, I could not foresee; but being left there alone, I sat down, and retired in spirit to the Lord, in whom alone my strength and safety was, and begged support of him; even that he would be pleased to give me

wisdom, and words to answer the warden, when I should come to be examined again before him.

After some time, having pen ink and paper about me, I set myself to write what I thought might be proper, if occasion served, to give the warden. And while I was writing, the master of the house being come home from his worship, sent the tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his master, that I had not any money to pay for my dinner. He sent the man again to tell me, I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no money. I desired him to tell his master, that I was very sensible of his civility and kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his table, but I had not freedom to eat of his meat, unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my mind to write, the constable came again; bringing with him his fellow-constable. This was a brisk, genteel young man, a shopkeeper in the town, whose name was Cherry.—They saluted me civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the warden. This put an end to my writing; which I put into my pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the warden's, he asked me again the same questions he had asked me before, to which I gave him the like answers.

Then he told me the penalty I had incurred ; which he said, was either to pay so much money, or lye so many hours in the stocks ; and asked me which I would choose. I replied, I shall not choose either. And, said I, I have told thee already that I have no money ; though if I had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an offender, as to pay any ; but as to lying in the stocks, I am in thy power, to do unto me, what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee.

When he heard that, he paused awhile, and then told me, he considered that I was but a young man, and might not perhaps understand the danger I had brought myself into ; and therefore he would not use the severity of the law upon me ; but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he would pass by this offence, and discharge me.

Then putting on a countenance of the greatest gravity, he said to me, but young man, I would have you know, that you have not only broken the law of the land ! but the law of God also ; and therefore you ought to ask him forgiveness ; for you have highly offended him. That, said I, I would most willingly do, if I were sensible that, in this case, I had offended him, by breaking any law of his. Why, said he, do you question that ? Yes, truly, said I : for I do not know that any law of God doth forbid me to ride on this day.

No ! said he, that is strange ! where, I wonder, were you bred ; You can read ; can

you not? Yes, said I, that I can. Do not you read then, said he, the commandment; *remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work.* Yes, replied I, I have both read it often, and remember it very well. But that command was given to the Jews, not to Christians; and this is not that day: for that was the seventh day, but this is the first. How! said he, do you know the days of the week no better? You had need then be better taught.

Here the younger constable, whose name was Cherry, interposing, said, Mr. Warden, the gentleman is in the right as to that, for this is the first day of the week, and not the seventh.

This the old warden took in dudgeon; and looking severely on the constable, said, what! do you take upon you to teach me? I will have you know, I will not be taught by you. As you please for that, sir, said the constable, but I am sure you are mistaken in this point, for saturday, I know, is the seventh day; and you know yesterday was saturday.

This made the warden hot and testy, and put him almost out of all patience; so that I feared it would have come to a downright quarrel betwixt them, for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the contest, that there

was no room for me to put in a word between them.

1660. At length the old man, having talked himself out of wind, stood still a while, as it were to take breath ; and then bethinking himself of me, he turned to me, and said, you are discharged, and may take your liberty to go about your occasions. But, said I, I desire my horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go. Ay, ay, said he, you shall have your horse ; and turning to the other constable who had not offended him, he said, go see that his horse be delivered to him.

Away thereupon went I, with that constable, leaving the old warden and the young constable to compose their difference as they could. Being come to the inn, the constable called for my horse to be brought out. Which done, I immediately mounted, and began to set forward. But the hostler, not knowing the condition of my pocket, said modestly to me, sir, do you not forget to pay for your horse's standing? No truly, said I, I do not forget it, but I have no money to pay it with, and so I told the warden before. Well, hold your tongue, said the constable to the hostler, I will see you paid. Then opening the gate, they let me out, the constable wishing me a good journey ; and through the town I rode without further molestation, though it was as much sabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret joy arose in me, as I rode on the way, for that I had been preserved from doing or saying any thing that might give the adversaries of truth advantage against it, or the friends of it; and praises sprang in my thankful heart to the Lord my preserver.

It added also not a little to my joy, that I felt the Lord near unto me, by his witness in my heart, to check and warn me; and my spirit was so far subjected to him, as readily to take warning, and stop at his check; an instance of both that very morning I had.

For as I rode between Reading and Maidenhead, I saw lying in my way, the scabbard of an hanger; which having lost its hook, had slipped off, I suppose, and dropped from the side of the wearer; and it had in it a pair of knives, whose hafts being inlaid with silver, seemed to be of some value. I alighted and took it up, and clapping it between my thigh and the saddle, rode on a little way, but I quickly found it too heavy for me; and the reprover in me soon began to check. The word arose in me, what hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee? I felt I had done amiss in taking it; wherefore I turned back to the place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stopped, and siezed on at Maidenhead, I saw there was a Providence in not bringing it with me; which, if it should have been found, as it needs must, under my coat, when I came to be unhorsed, might have raised some



evil suspicion, or sinister thoughts concerning me.

The stop I met with at Maidenhead, had spent me so much time, that when I came to Isaac Pennington's, the meeting there was half over, which gave them occasion, after meeting, to inquire of me, if any thing had befallen me on the way, which had caused me to come so late. Whereupon I related to them what exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it; which when they had heard, they rejoiced with me, and for my sake.

Great was the love, and manifold the kindnesses, which I received from these my worthy friends Isaac and Mary Pennington, while I abode in their family. They were indeed as affectionate parents, and tender nurses to me in this time of my religious childhood. For besides their weighty and seasonable counsels, and exemplary conversations, they furnished me with means to go to the other meetings of friends in that country, when the meeting was not in their own house. And indeed, the time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great satisfaction to my mind, but turned in good measure to my spiritual advantage in the truth.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends, nor on the other hand forget the house of thralldom, after I had staid with them some six or seven

weeks, from the time called Easter, to the time called Whitsuntide, I took my leave of them, to depart home ; intending to walk to Wiccomb in one day, and from thence home in another.

That day that I came home I did not see my father, nor until noon the next day, when I went into the parlour where he was, to take my usual place at dinner.

As soon as I came in, I observed by my father's countenance, that my hat was still an offence to him ; but when I had sat down, and before I had eaten any thing, he made me understand it more fully, by saying to me, (but in a milder tone than he had formerly used to speak to me in) if you cannot content yourself to come to dinner without your hive on your head, (so he called my hat) pray rise, and go take your dinner somewhere else.

Upon these words I arose from the table, and leaving the room went into the kitchen ; where I staid till the servants went to dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my father might intend that I should have gone into some other room, and there have eaten by myself. But I chose rather to eat with the servants ; and did so from thenceforward, so long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me, than to renew the quarrel about my hat.

My sisters, meanwhile, observing my wariness in words and behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a principle of religion and conscience, carried themselves very kindly to me; and did what they could to mitigate my father's displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at home, and took more liberty to go abroad amongst my friends, than I had done, or could do before. And having informed myself where any meetings of friends were holden, within a reasonable distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a town called Haddenham, in Buckinghamshire, five miles from my father's; where, at the house of one Belson, a few who were called Quakers, did meet sometimes on a first-day of the week; but I found little satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further inquiry, I understood there was a settled meeting at a little village called Meadle, about four long miles from me, in the house of one John White, which is continued there still: and to that thenceforward I constantly went, while I abode in that country, and was able. Many a sore day's travel have I had thither and back again; being commonly, in the winter time, how fair soever the weather was over head, wet up to the ancles at least; yet through the goodness of the Lord to me, I was preserved in health.

A little meeting also there was, on the fourth-day of the week, at a town called Bled-

low, two miles from me, in the house of one Thomas Saunders, who professed the truth ; but his wife, whose name was Damaris, did possess it, she being a woman of great sincerity and lively sense ; and to that meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this liberty for the service of God, that I might worship him in the assemblies of his people, yet did I not use it upon other occasions, but spent my time, on other days, for the most part in my chamber, in retiredness of mind, waiting on the Lord. And the Lord was graciously pleased to visit me, by his quickening spirit and life ; so that I came to feel the operation of his power in my heart, working out that which was contrary to his will, and giving me in measure, dominion over it.

And as my spirit was kept in a due subjection to this Divine power, I grew into a nearer acquaintance with the Lord ; and the Lord vouchsafed to speak unto me, in the inward of my soul, and to open my understanding in his fear, to receive counsel from him ; so that I not only, at sometimes heard his voice, but could distinguish his voice from the voice of the enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the Lord, a weighty and unusual exercise came upon me ; which bowed my spirit very low before the Lord. I had seen in the light of the Lord, the horrible guilt of those deceitful priests,

of divers sorts and denominations, who made a trade of preaching; and for filthy lucre's sake held the people always learning; yet so taught them, as that by their teaching and ministry, they were never able to come to the knowledge, much less to the acknowledgment of the truth; for as they themselves hated the light, because their own deeds were evil, so by reviling, reproaching, and blaspheming the true light, wherewith every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, (John i. 9.) they begat in the people a disesteem of the light; and laboured, as much as in them lay, to keep their hearers in the darkness, that they might not be turned to the light in themselves, lest by the light they should discover the wickedness of these their deceitful teachers; and turn from them.

Against this practice of these false teachers, the zeal of the Lord had flamed in my breast for some time; and now the burthen of the word of the Lord against them, fell heavy upon me, with command to proclaim his controversy against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this service, which I judged too heavy for me; wherefore, I besought the Lord to take this weight from off me, who was, in every respect, but young; and lay it upon some other of his servants, of whom he had many, who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be intreated, but continued the burden upon me, with greater weight;

requiring obedience from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my bed, and in the fear and dread of the Lord, committed to writing what he, in the motion of his Divine spirit, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the sharpness of the message therein delivered, was hard to my nature to be the publisher of, yet I found acceptance with the Lord, in my obedience to his will, and his peace filled my heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my friends what I had written ; and it was printed in the year 1660, in one sheet of paper, under the title of "An alarm to the Priests ; or, a Message from Heaven, to forewarn them," &c.

Some time after the publishing of this paper, having occasion to go to London, I went to visit George Fox the younger, who with another friend, was then a prisoner in a Messenger's hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before ; yet this paper lying on the table before him, he, pointing to it, asked me if I was the person that wrote it ? I told him I was. It is much said the other friend that they bear it. It is, replied he, their portion, and they must bear it.

While I was then in London, I went to a little meeting of Friends, which was then held in the house of one Humphry Bache, a goldsmith, at the sign of the snail, in Tower-street. It was then a very troublesome time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys

and rude people, who upon the turn of the times, at the return of the king, took liberty to be very abusive.

When the meeting ended, a pretty number of these unruly folk were got together at the door, ready to receive the friends as they came forth, not only with evil words, but with blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my share of, when I came amongst them. But quite contrary to my expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, let him alone, do not meddle with him, he is no Quaker I will warrant you.

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their fists on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the matter was, or what these rude people saw in me, that made them not take me for a Quaker. And upon a close examination of myself, with respect to my habit and deportment, I could not find any thing to place it on, but that I had then on my head a large mountier cap of black velvet, the skirt of which being turned up in folds, looked it seems, somewhat above the then common garb of a Quaker, and this put me out of conceit with my cap.

I came, at this time to London, from Isaac Pennington's, and thither I went again, in my way home, and while I staid there, amongst other friends who came thither, Tho-

mas Loe of Oxford was one. A faithful and diligent labourer he was in the work of the Lord, and an excellent ministerial gift he had. And I in my zeal for truth, being very desirous that my neighbours might have the opportunity of hearing the gospel, the glad tidings of salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into communication with him about it; offering to procure some convenient place in the town where I lived, for a meeting to be held, and to invite my neighbours to it; if he could give me any ground to expect his company at it. He told me he was not at his own command, but at the Lord's; and he knew not how he might dispose of him, but wished me, if I found when I was come home, that the thing continued with weight upon my mind, and that I could get a fit place for a meeting, I would advertise him of it by a few lines directed to him at Oxford, whither he was then going, and he might then let me know how his freedom stood in that matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a neighbour for a place to have a meeting in, I wrote to my friend Thomas Loe, to acquaint him that I had procured a place for a meeting, and would invite company to it, if he would fix the time, and give me some ground to hope that he would be at it.

This letter I sent by a neighbour to Thame, to be given to a dyer of Oxford, who constantly kept Thame market, with whom I was



pretty well acquainted; having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of trade, but to carry letters between my brother and me, when he was a student in the University, for which he was always paid, and had been so careful in the delivery, that our letters had always gone safe until now. But this time, Providence so ordering, or at least for my trial permitting it, this letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its direction, was seized and carried, as I was told, to the lord Faulkland, who was then called lord-lieutenant of that county.

The occasion of this stopping of letters at that time, was that mad prank of those infatuated fifth-monarchy-men, who from their meeting-house in Coleman-street, London, breaking forth in arms, under the command of their chieftain Venner, made an insurrection in the city; on pretence of setting up the kingdom of Jesus; who, it is said, they expected would come down from heaven, to be their leader. So little understood they the nature of his kingdom; though he himself had declared it was not of this world.

The king, a little before his arrival in England, had, by his declaration from Breda, given assurance of liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom; upon this assurance, dissenters of all sorts relied, and held them-

selves secure. But now, by this frantic action of a few hot brained men, the king was by some, holden discharged from this his royal word and promise, in his foregoing declaration publicly given. And hereupon letters were intercepted and broken open, for discovery of suspected plots, and designs against the government ; and not only dissenter's meetings of all sorts, without distinction, were disturbed, but very many were imprisoned, in most parts, throughout the nation ; and great search there was, in all countries, for suspected persons, who, if not found at meetings, were fetched in from their own houses.

The lord lieutenant, so called, of Oxfordshire, had on this occasion taken Thomas Loe, and many other of our friends, at a meeting, and sent them prisoners to Oxford-Castle, just before my letter was brought to his hand, wherein I had invited Thomas Loe to a meeting ; and he, putting the worst construction upon it, as if I, a poor simple lad, had intended a seditious meeting, in order to raise rebellion, ordered two of the deputy-lieutenants, who lived nearest to me, to send a party of horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I, wholly ignorant of what had passed at Oxford, was in daily expectation of an agreeable answer to my letter, came a party of horse one morning to my father's gate, and asked for me.

It so fell out, that my father was at that time from home, I think in London, whereupon he that commanded the party, alighted and came in. My eldest sister, hearing the noise of soldiers, came hastily up into my chamber, and told me there were soldiers below, who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the commander was a barber of Thame, and one who had always been my barber till I was a Quaker. His name was Whately, a bold brisk fellow.

I asked him what his business was with me? He told me I must go with him. I demanded to see his warrant, he laid his hand on his sword, and said that was his warrant. I told him, though that was not a legal warrant, yet I would not dispute it, but was ready to bear injuries. He told me he could not help it, as he was commanded to bring me forth with before the deputy-lieutenants, and therefore desired me to order an horse to be got ready, because he was in haste. I let him know I had no horse of my own, and would not meddle with any of my father's horses, in his absence especially; and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he must carry me as he could.

He thereupon taking my sister aside, told her he found I was resolute, and his orders were peremptory; wherefore he desired that she would give order for an horse to be made ready for me, for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a trooper, which would

be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered an horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my sisters, I mounted, and went off, not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had orders, it seems, to take some others also, in a neighbouring village, whose names he had, but their houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me if I knew such and such men, whom he named, and where they lived; and when he understood that I knew them, he desired me to shew him their houses. No, said I, I scorn to be an informer against my neighbours, to bring them into trouble. He thereupon riding to and fro, found, by inquiry, most of their houses, but as it happened, found none of them at home, at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the house of one called esquire Clark, of Weston, by Thame, who being afterwards knighted, was called sir John Clark; a jolly man, too much addicted to drinking in soberer times; but was now grown more licentious that way, as the time did now more favour debauchery. He and I had known one another for some years; though not very intimately; having met sometimes at the lord Wenman's table.

This Clark was one of the deputy-lieutenants, whom I was to be brought before. And he had gotten another thither, to join with him in tendering me the oaths, whom I knew only

by name and character ; he was called esquire Knowls, of Grays, by Henly ; and reputed a man of better morals than the other.

I was brought into the hall, and kept there. And as Quakers were not so common then, as they now are, and indeed even yet (the more is the pity) they are not common in that part of the country ; I was made a spectacle, and gazing-stock to the family, and by divers I was diversely set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with appearance of compassion ; others ruggedly, with evident tokens of wrath and scorn. But though I gave them hearing of what they said, which I could not well avoid, yet I said little to them ; but keeping my mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for help and strength from him, to bear me up, and carry me through this trial ; that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any means, fair or foul, to do any thing that might dishonour, or displease my God.

At length came forth the justices themselves, for so they were, as well as lieutenants ; and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly ; and though Clark would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish, which was somewhat natural to him, yet Knowls treated me very civilly ; not seeming to take any offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young priest, who as I understood, was chaplain in the family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my hat on before the magistrates,

and snatched my cap from off my head, Knowls in a pleasant manner, corrected him, telling him he mistook himself, in taking a cap for a hat; for mine was a mountier-cap, and bid him give it me again, which he, though unwillingly doing, I forthwith put it on my head again; and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me; putting divers questions to me relating to the present disturbances in the nation, occasioned by the late foolish insurrection, of those frantick fifth-monarchymen. To all which I readily answered, according to the simplicity of my heart, and innocency of my hands; for I had neither done, nor thought any evil against the government.

But they endeavoured to affright me with threats of danger, telling me with innuendo's, that for all my pretence of innocency, there was high matter against me, which, if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this, but I knew my innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not their threats in general, they asked me if I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him. I then remembered my letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them, that I did both know Thomas Loe, and had lately written to him, but that as I knew I had written no hurt, so I

did not fear any danger from that letter. They shook their heads, and said it was dangerous to write letters to appoint meetings in such troublesome times.

They added, that by appointing a meeting, and endeavouring to gather a concourse of people together, in such a juncture especially as this was, I had rendered myself a dangerous person. And therefore, they could do no less than tender me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which therefore they required me to take.

I told them if I could take any oath at all, I would take the oath of allegiance, for I owed allegiance to the king. But I durst not take any oath, because my Lord and Master Jesus Christ had commanded me not to swear at all, and if I brake his command, I should thereby both dishonour and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me, and used many words to persuade me that that command of Christ related only to common and profane swearing, not to swearing before a magistrate. I heard them, and saw the weakness of their arguings, but did not return them any answer; for I found my present business was not to dispute, but to suffer; and that it was not safe for me, in this my weak and childish state especially, to enter into reasonings with sharp, quick, witty and learned men, lest I might thereby hurt both the cause of Truth, which I was to bear witness to, and myself; therefore I chose rather

to be a fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my weakness give them advantage to triumph over the Truth. And my spirit being closely exercised in a deep travail towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him, that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the testimony he had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the snares which the enemy laid for me. And blessed be his holy name, he heard my cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the justices saw they could not bow me to their wills, they told me they must send me to prison. I told them I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the parlour, to consult together what to do with me, leaving me meanwhile to be gazed on in the hall.

After a pretty long stay, they came forth to me again, with great shew of kindness; telling me, they were very unwilling to send me to gaol but would be as favourable to me, as possibly they could; and that, if I would take the oaths, they would pass by all the other matter which they had against me. I told them I knew they could not justly have any thing against me, for I had neither done, nor intended any thing against the government, or against them. And as to the oaths, I assured them, that my refusing them was merely matter of conscience to me, and that I durst not take any oath whatsoever, if it were to save my life.



When they heard this, they left me again, and went and signed a mittimus to send me to prison at Oxford, and charged one of the troopers that brought me thither (who was one of the newly raised militia-troop) to convey me safe to Oxford. But before we departed, they called the trooper aside, and gave him private instructions what he should do with me, which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the castle.

It was almost dark when we took horse, and we had about nine or ten miles to ride, the weather thick and cold; for it was about the beginning of the twelfth month, and I had no boots, being snatched away from home suddenly; which made me not care to ride very fast. And my guard, who was a tradesman in Thame, having confidence in me, that I would not give him the slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a mile on the way, I overtook my father's man, who, without my knowledge, had followed me at a distance, to Weston; and waited there abroad in the stables, till he understood by some of the servants that I was to go to Oxford; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me, till he saw what they would do with me.

I would have had him return home; but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to Oxford. I considered that it was a token of the fellow's affectionate kindness to me, and that possibly I might send

my horse home by him ; and thereupon, stopping my horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me he could run as fast as I rode. But when I had told him, if he would not ride he should not go forward, he, rather than leave me, leaped up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great cudgel in his hand, and a strong arm to use it ; and being a stout fellow, he had a great mind to fight the trooper and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my horse, and ride off. And if the trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I checked him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did ; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also, that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring guilt or fear upon me, neither did I go with an ill will ; and this quieted the man. So on we went, but were so far cast behind the trooper, that we had lost both sight and hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into Oxford, on the seventh-day of the week, which was the market day, and contrary to my expectation, which was to have been carried to the castle, my trooper stopped in the high-street, and

calling at a shop, asked for the master of the house, who coming to the door, he delivered to him the mittimus, and with it a letter from the deputy-lieutenants, or one of them; which when he had read, he asked where the prisoner was. Whereupon the soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in, which when I did, he received me civilly.

The trooper being discharged of his prisoner, marched back; and my father's man seeing me settled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my horse and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the quality of my keeper, but I found him a genteel, courteous man, by trade a linnen-draper; and, as I afterwards understood, he was the city-marshal, had a command in the county troop, and was a person of good repute in the place; his name was ——— Galloway.

Whether I was committed to him out of regard to my father, that I might not be thrust into a common gaol, or out of a politic design to keep me from the conversation of my friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this profession, which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil treatment, nor kind accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood that many friends were prisoners in the castle, and amongst the rest Thomas Loe, I had much rather have been among them there, with all the inconveniences they

underwent, than where I was, with the best entertainment. But this was my present lot, and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the city that a Quaker was brought in prisoner, and committed to the marshall. Whereupon (the men friends being generally prisoners already in the castle) some of the women friends came to inquire after me and to visit me ; as Silas Norton's wife, and Thomas Loe's wife, who were sisters, and another woman friend, who lived in the same street where I was ; whose husband was not a Quaker, but was kindly affected towards them, a baker by trade, and his name as I remember, Ryland.

By some of these an account was soon given to the Friends, who were prisoners in the castle, of my being taken up, and brought prisoner to the marshall's. Whereupon it pleased the Lord, to move on the heart of my dear Friend Thomas Loe, to salute me with a very tender and affectionate letter in the following terms,

MY BELOVED FRIEND,

In the truth, and love of the Lord Jesus, by which life and salvation is revealed in the saints, is my dear love unto thee, and in much tenderness do I salute thee. And dear heart, a time of trial God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our faith and love to him ; and this will work for the good of them, that through patience endure to the end. And I believe

God will be glorified through our sufferings, and his name will be exalted in the patience, and long-suffering of his chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this trial, with the servants of the most High, to give thy testimony to the truth of what we have believed, it came into my heart to write unto thee, and to greet thee with the embraces of the power of an endless life ; where our faith stands, and unity is felt with the saints for ever. Well, my dear friend, let us live in the pure council of the Lord, and dwell in his strength; which gives us power, and sufficiency to endure all things, for his name's sake; and then our crown and reward will be with the Lord for ever; and the blessings of his heavenly kingdom will be our portion. Oh, dear heart, let us give up all freely into the will of God, that God may be glorified by us, and we comforted together in the Lord Jesus; which is the desire of my soul, who am thy dear and loving friend in the eternal truth.

THOMAS LOE.

We are more than forty here, which suffer innocently, for the testimony of a good conscience, because we cannot swear, and break Christ's commands; and we are all well, and the blessings and presence of God is with us. Friends here salute thee. Farewell.

The power and the wisdom of the Lord God be with thee, amen.

Greatly was my spirits refreshed, and my heart gladed, at the reading of this consolating letter from my friend ; and my soul blessed the Lord for his love, and tender goodness to me, in moving his servant to write thus unto me.

But I had cause soon after to double, and redouble my thankful acknowledgement to the Lord my God, who put it into the heart of my dear friend Isaac Penington, also, to visit me with some encouraging lines, from Alesbury-gaol, where he was then a prisoner ; and from whence, having heard that I was carried prisoner to Oxford, he thus saluted me.

DEAR THOMAS,

Great hath been the Lord's goodness to thee, in calling thee out of that path of vanity and death, wherein thou wast running towards destruction, to give thee a living name, and an inheritance of life among his people ; which certainly will be the end of thy faith in him, and obedience to him. And let it not be a light thing in thine eyes, that he now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice lambs, that He might make thy crown weightier, and thy inheritance the fuller. O that, that eye and heart may be kept open in thee, which knoweth the value of these things ! And that thou mayest be kept close to the feeling of the life, that thou mayest be fresh in thy spirit in the midst of thy suffering, and mayest reap the benefit of them ; finding that pared off

thereby, which hindereth the bubblings of the everlasting springs, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth, and enjoyment of the pure power! This is the brief salutation of my dear love to thee, which desireth thy strength and settlement in the power; and the utter weakening of thee as to self. My dear love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of imprisoned friends.

I remain thine in the truth, to which the  
Lord my God preserve me single and  
faithful.

I. P.

ALESBURY GAOL,  
14th of 12th mo. 1660.

1661. Though these epistolary visits in the love of God, were very comfortable and confirming to me, and my heart was thankful to the Lord for them, yet I honed after personal conversation with friends; and it was hard, I thought, that there should be so many faithful servants of God so near me, yet I should not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their company, and reap both the pleasure and benefit of their sweet society.

For although my marshal-keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the liberty of his house, yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad; the rather perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that city. Yet once the friendly baker got him to let me step over to his house; and once, and

but once, I prevailed with him to let me visit my friends in the castle, but it was with these conditions, that I should not go forth till it was dark; that I would muffle myself up in my cloak; and that I would not stay out late. All which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many friends prisoners, I scarce knew one of them by face, except Thomas Loe; whom I had once seen at Isaac Penington's; nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard, that such a young man as I, was convinced of the truth, and come among Friends.

Our salutation to each other was very grave and solemn; nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common discourses; but most of the little time I had with them, was spent in a silent retiredness of spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the exercises we had gone through; and they seeming willing to understand the ground and manner of my commitment, I gave them a brief account thereof; letting Thomas Loe more particularly know, that I had directed a letter to him, which having fallen into the hand of the lord-lieutenant, was, so far as I could learn, the immediate cause of my being taken up.

Having staid with them as long as my limited time would permit, which I thought was



but very short, that I might keep touch with my keeper, and come home in due time, I took leave of my friends there, and with mutual embraces parting, returned to my (in some sense more easy, but in others less easy) prison, where, after this, I staid not long, before I was bought back to my father's house.

For after my father was come home, who, as I observed before was from home when I was taken, he applied himself to those justices that had committed me, and not having disoblighed them when he was in office, easily obtained leave to have me sent home ; which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general muster and training of the militia forces at Oxford ; whither, on that occasion came the lord-lieutenant, and the deputy-lieutenants of the county ; of which number they who committed me were two.

When they had been awhile together, and the marshal with them, he stept suddenly in, and in haste told me I must get ready quickly to go out of town ; and that a soldier would come by and by to go with me. This said, he hastened to them again ; not giving me any intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in ; but I was uneasy in thinking what the Friends of the town would think of this my sudden, and private removal ; and I feared, lest any report should be raised, that I had purchased my liberty by an unfaithful compliance.—

Wherefore, I was in care how to speak with some friend about it ; and that friendly baker, whose wife was a Friend, living on the other side of the street, at a little distance ; I went out at a back door, intending to step over the way to their house, and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the lieutenants of whom esquire Clark, who committed me was one, were standing in a balcony at a great inn or tavern, just over the place where I was to go by, and he espying me, called out to the soldiers, who stood thick below in the street, to stop me. They being generally gentlemen's servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, Stay, sir, stay ; pray come back. I heard, but was not willing to hear ; therefore rather mended my pace, that I might have got within the door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run ; and laying hold on me, before I could open the door, brought me back to my place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a pen and ink, and wrote a few lines ; which I sealed up and gave to the apprentice in the shop, who had carried himself handsomely to me, and desired him to deliver it to that Friend, who was their neighbour, which he promised to do.

By the time I had done this, came the soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of town. I knew the man, for he lived within a

mile of me, being, through poverty, reduced to keep an ale-house ; but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an inn at Thame ; and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me.

He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Whately ; and to tarry there at such an inn, till esquire Clark came thither, who would then take me home with him in his coach. Accordingly to Whately we walked, which is from Oxford some four or five miles ; and long we had not been there, before Clark and a great company of rude men came in.

He alighted, and stayed awhile to eat and drink, though he came but from Oxford, and invited me to eat with him ; but I, though I had need enough, refused it ; for indeed their conversation was a burthen to my life, and made me often think of and pity good Lot.

He seemed at that time to be in a sort of mixed temper, between pleasantness and sourness. He would sometimes joke, which was natural to him, and cast out a jesting flirt at me ; but he would rail maliciously against the Quakers. If, said he to me, the king would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, except you. I would make no more, added he, to set my pistol to their ears, and shoot them through the head, than I would to kill a dog. I told him, I was sorry he had so ill an opinion of the Quakers, but I was glad he had no cause

for it; and I hoped he would be of a better mind.

I had in my hand a little walking-stick, with a head on it; which he commended, and took out of my hand to look on it, but I saw his intention was to search it, whether it had a tuck in it; for he tried to have drawn the head; but when he found it was fast, he returned it to me.

He told me I should ride with him to his house in his coach; which was nothing pleasant to me, for I had rather have gone on foot, as bad as the ways were, that I might have been out of his company. Wherefore, I took no notice of any kindness in the offer, but only answered, I was at his disposal, not mine own.

But when we were ready to go, the marshal came to me and told me, if I pleased I should ride his horse, and he would go in the coach with Mr. Clark. I was glad of the offer, and only told him he should take out his pistols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the coach by him, and away we went.

It was a very fine beast that I was set on; by much the best in the company. But though she was very tall, yet the ways being very foul, I found it needful as soon as I was out of town, to alight and take up the stirrups. Meanwhile, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the

company, a soldier was sent back to look after me.

As soon as I had fitted my stirrups, and was remounted, I gave the rein to my mare, which being courageous and nimble, and impatient of delay, made great speed to recover the company. And in a narrow passage, the soldier, (who was my barber that had fetched me from home) and I met upon so brisk a gallop, that we had enough to do on either side, to take up our horses and avoid a brush.

When we were come to Weston, where esquire Clark lived, he took the marshal, and some others with him into the parlour; but I was left in the hall, to be exposed a second time for the family to gaze on.

At length himself came out to me, leading in his hand a beloved daughter of his, a young woman of about eighteen years of age; who wanted nothing to have made her comely, but gravity. An airy piece she was, and very merry she made herself at me.

This was all by candle light. And when they had made themselves as much sport with me as they would, the marshal took his leave of them; and mounting me on a horse of Clark's, had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning, before the marshal went away, my father and he consulted together how to entangle me. I felt there were snares laid, but I did not know in what manner, or

to what end, till the marshal was ready to go; and then, coming where I was to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice, that although he had brought me home to my father's house again, yet I was not discharged from my imprisonment, but was his prisoner still; and that he had committed me to the care of my father, to see me forth-coming whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe my father's orders; and not go at any time from the house without his leave.

Now I plainly saw the snare, and to what end it was laid. And I asked him if this device was not contrived to keep me from going to meetings. He said, I must not go to meetings. Whereupon I desired him to take notice, that I would not own myself a prisoner to any man while I continued here. That if he had power to detain me prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bid him assure himself, that while I was at home, I would take my liberty both to go to meetings and to visit Friends. He smiled and said, if I would be resolute he could not help it; and so took his leave of me.

By this I perceived that the plot was of my father's laying, to have brought me under such an engagement, as should have tied me from going to meetings; and thereupon I expected I should have a new exercise from my father.

It was the constant manner of my father, to have all the keys of the out-doors of his house, which were four, and those linked upon a chain, brought up into his chamber every night, and fetched out from thence in the morning; so that none could come in or go out in the night without his knowledge.

I knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that day. Wherefore, the passage from my chamber lying by his chamber door, I went down softly without my shoes, and as soon as the maid had opened the door, I went out, though too early, and walked towards the meeting at Meadle, four long miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it, my father resolving to watch me better next time.

This I was aware of, and therefore, on the next first-day I got up early, went down softly, and hid myself in a back room, before the maid was stirring.

When she was up, she went into my father's chamber for the keys; but he bid her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himself, which he did, and tarried in the kitchen, through which he expected I would go.

The manner was, that when the common doors were opened, the keys were hung upon a pin in the hall. While therefore my father

staid in the kitchen, expecting my coming, I stepping gently out of the room where I was, reached the keys, and opening another door, not often used, slipped out, and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered. But whether my father saw me through a window, or by what other means he knew of my going, I know not, but I had gone but a little way, before I saw him coming after me.

The sight of him put me to a stand in my mind, whether I should go on or stop. Had it been in any other case, than that of going to a meeting, I could not in any wise have gone a step further. But I considered that the intent of my father's endeavouring to stop me, was to hinder me from obeying the call of my heavenly Father, and to stop me from going to worship him in the assembly of his people; upon this I found it my duty to go on, and observing that my father gained ground upon me, I somewhat mended my pace.

This he observing, mended his pace also, and at length ran. Whereupon I ran also, and a fair course we had, through a large meadow of his, which lay behind his house and out of sight of the town. He was not, I suppose, then above fifty years of age, and being light of body, and nimble of foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slacking his pace to take breath, and observing that I had gotten ground of him, he turned back and went home, and, as I afterwards understood, telling my



sisters how I had served him, he said, Nay, if he will take so much pains to go, let him go, if he will. And from that time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my liberty to go when and whither I would, yet kept me at the usual distance, avoiding the sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the sight of my hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this before I was left not only to myself, but in a manner by myself. For the time appointed for the coronation of the king, which was the twenty-third of the second month, (called April) drawing on, my father, taking my two sisters with him, went up to London sometime before, that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a condition to see that, so great a solemnity, leaving no body in the house but myself and a couple of servants. And though this was intended only for a visit on that occasion, yet it proved the breaking of the family; for he bestowed both his daughters there in marriage, and took lodgings for himself; so that afterwards they never returned to settle at Crowell.

Being now at liberty, I walked over to Alesbury, with some other Friends, to visit my dear friend Isaac Penington, who was still a prisoner there. With him I found dear John Whitehead, and between sixty and seventy more; being well nigh all the men Friends that were then in the county of Bucks; many

of them were taken out of their houses by armed men, and sent to prison as I had been, for refusing to swear. Most of these were thrust into an old room, behind the gaol, which had anciently been a malt-house, but was now so decayed, that it was scarce fit for a dog-house. And so open it lay, that the prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in the prison for others of other professions and names, whom the gaoler did not trust there.

While this imprisonment lasted, (which was for some months) I went afterwards thither sometimes, to visit my suffering brethren; and because it was a pretty long way, (some eight or nine long miles) too far to be walked forward and backward in one day, I sometimes staid a day or two there, and lay in the malt-house among my friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to Isaac Penington's house at Chalfont, to visit that family and the Friends thereabouts. There was then a meeting, for the most part, twice a week in his house; but one first-day in four there was a more general meeting, which was thence called the monthly meeting, to which resorted most of the Friends of other adjacent meetings; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I came acquainted with a Friend of London, whose name was Richard Greenaway, by trade a tailor, a very honest man, and one who had received a gift for the ministry.

He, having been formerly in other professions of religion, had then been acquainted with one John Ovy of Watlington, in Oxfordshire, a man of some note among the professors there, and understanding upon enquiry, that I knew him, he had some discourse with me about him. The result thereof was, that he, having an intention then shortly to visit some meetings of Friends in this county, and the adjoining parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, invited me to meet him (upon notice given) and to bear him company in that journey, and in the way bring him to John Ovy's house, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the man and his wife being very glad to see both their old friend Richard Greenaway, and me also; whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a Quaker.

Here we tarried that night, and in the evening had a little meeting there, with some few of John Ovy's people, amongst whom Richard Greenaway declared the truth, which they attentively heard, and did not oppose, which at that time of day we reckoned was pretty well, for many were apt to cavil.

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This visit gave John Ovy an opportunity to enquire of me after Isaac Penington, whose writings (those which he had written before he came among Friends) he had read, and had a great esteem of; and he expressed a desire to see him, that he might have some discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the pains to go to his house, I would bear him company thither, introduce him, and engage he should have a kind reception.

This pleased him much, and he embracing the offer, I undertook to give him notice of a suitable time, which, (after I had gone this little journey with my friend Richard Greenaway, and was returned) I did, making choice of the monthly meeting to go to.

We met by appointment at Stoken church, with our staves in our hands, like a couple of pilgrims, intending to walk on foot; and having taken some refreshment and rest at Wiccomb, went on cheerfully in the afternoon, entertaining each other with grave and religious discourse, which made the walk the easier, and so reached thither in good time, on the seventh-day of the week.

I gave my friends an account who this person was, whom I had brought to visit them, and the ground of his visit. He had been a professor of religion from his childhood to his old age; for he was now both gray-headed and elderly, and was a teacher at this time, and had long been so, amongst a people

whether Independents or Baptists, I do not well remember. And so well thought of he was, for his zeal and honesty, that in those late professing times, he was thrust into the commission of the peace, and thereby lifted up upon the bench, which neither became him, nor he it. For he wanted indeed most of the qualifications requisite for a justice of the peace; an estate to defray the charges of the office, and to bear him up in a course of living above contempt, a competent knowledge in the laws, and a presence of mind or body, or both, to keep offenders in some awe; in all which he was deficient. For he was but a fell-monger by trade, accustomed to ride upon his pack of skins, and had very little estate, as little knowledge in the law, and of but a mean presence and appearance to look on. But as my father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the commission, so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came, at the king's return, which turned them both out together.

My friends received me in affectionate kindness, and my companion with courteous civility. The evening was spent in common but grave conversation; for it was not a proper season for private discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our walk, and there were other companies of Friends come into the family, to be at the meeting next day.

But in the morning I took John Ovy into a private walk, in a pleasant grove near the house, whither Isaac Penington came to us ; and there, in discourse, both answered all his questions, objections and doubts, and opened to him the principles of truth, both to his admiration and present satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some refreshment before the meeting began.

Of those Friends who were come over night, in order to be at the meeting, there were Isaac's brother, William Penington, a merchant of London, and with him a Friend whose name I have forgotten, a grocer of Colchester in Essex ; and there was also our Friend George Whitehead, whom I had not that I remember seen before.

The nation had been in a ferment, ever since that mad action of the frantic Fifth-Monarchy men, and was not yet settled ; but storms like thunder-showers flew here and there by coast, so that we could not promise ourselves any safety or quiet in our meetings. And though they had escaped disturbance for some little time before, yet so it fell out, that a party of horse were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day, though we knew nothing of it till we heard and saw them.

The meeting was scarce fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the family, and many others were settled in it, in great peace and stillness ; when on a sudden the

prancing of the horses gave notice that lightning was at hand.

We all sat still in our places, except my companion John Ovy, who sat next to me. But he being of a profession that approved Peter's advice to his Lord, to save himself, soon took the alarm; and with the nimbleness of a stripling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door (which he had before observed) which led through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard; where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that no one of the family could easily have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into his burrow, came the soldiers in, being a party of the county troop, commanded by Matthew Archdale, of Wiccomb. He behaved himself civilly, and said he was commanded to break up the meeting, and carry the men before a justice of the peace; but he said he would not take all; and thereupon began to pick and choose, chiefly as his eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few.

He took Isaac Penington and his brother, George Whitehead, and the friend of Colchester and me, with three or four more of the country, who belonged to that meeting.

He was not fond of the work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some, he said, and bid us provide to go with him

before Sir William Boyer of Denham, who was a justice of the peace. Isaac Penington being but weakly, rode; but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four miles.

When we came there, the justice carried himself civilly to us all; courteously to Isaac Penington, as being a gentleman of his neighbourhood; and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without word or deed. Yet this being contrary to a late proclamation, given forth upon the rising of the Fifth-Monarchy-men, whereby all dissenters' meetings were forbidden the justice could do no less than take notice of us.

Wherefore he examined all of us, whom he did not personally know, asking our names, and the places of our respective habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant parts of the nation we came, he was amazed. For G. Whitehead was of Westmoreland, in the north of England; the grocer was of Essex; I was of Oxfordshire; and W. Penington was of London.

Hereupon he told us, that our cases looked ill, and he was sorry for it; for how, said he, can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one time and one place, from such remote quarters and parts of the kingdom, if it was not by combination and appointment.

He was answered, that we were so far from coming thither by agreement or appointment, that none of us knew of the others coming; and for the most of us, we had never seen



one another before, and that therefore he might impute it to chance, or, if he pleased, to Providence.

He urged upon us, that an insurrection had been lately made by armed men, who pretended to be more religious than others; that that insurrection had been plotted and contrived in their meeting-house, where they assembled under colour of worshipping God; that in their meeting-house they hid their arms, and armed themselves; and out of their meeting-house issued forth in arms, and killed many, so that the government could not be safe, unless such meetings were suppressed.

We replied, we hoped he would distinguish and make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, and between those who were principled for fighting, and those who were principled against it, which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our meetings were public, our doors standing open to all comers of all ages, sexes and persuasions, men, women and children, and those that were not of our religion, as well as those that were; and that it was next to madness, for people to plot in such meetings.

He told us we must find sureties for our good behaviour, and to answer our contempt of the king's proclamation, at the next general quarter-sessions, or else he must commit us.

We told him, that knowing our innocence, and that we had not misbehaved ourselves, nor did meet in contempt of the king's authority,

but purely in obedience to the Lord's requirements, to worship him; which we held ourselves in duty bound to do: we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply guilt, which we were free from.

Then, said he, I must commit you; and ordered his clerk to make a mittimus. And divers mittimusses were made, but none of them would hold; for still, when they came to be read, we found such flaws in them, as made him throw them aside, and write more.

He had his eye often upon me; for I was a young man, and had at that time a black suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private room, and shut the door upon me.

I knew not what he meant by this; but I cried in spirit to the Lord, that he would be pleased to be a mouth and wisdom to me, and keep me from being entangled in any snare.

He asked me many questions, concerning my birth, my education, my acquaintance in Oxfordshire; particularly what men of note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true answers; naming several families of the best rank, in that part of the country where I dwelt.

He asked me how long I had been of this way, and how I came to be of it; which when I had given him some account of, he began to persuade me to leave it, and return to the right way, the church, as he called it. I desired him to spare his pains in that respect, and forbear

any discourse of that kind; for that I was fully satisfied the way I was in was the right way; and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it, that nothing should be able to draw, or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that; and thereupon went out to the rest of the company, and I followed him, glad in my heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my deliverance.

When he had taken his seat again, at the upper end of a fair hall, he told us he was not willing to take the utmost rigour of the law against us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr. Penington himself, because he was but at home in his own house. And he would discharge Mr. Penington of London, because he come but as a relation, to visit his brother. And he would discharge the grocer of Colchester, because he came to bear Mr. Penington of London company, and to be acquainted with Mr. Isaac Penington, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us, who were of this country, he would discharge them for the present at least, because they being his neighbours, he could send for them when he would. But as for you, said he to George Whitehead and me, I can see no business you had there, and therefore I intend to hold you to it, either to give bail or go to gaol.

We told him we could not give bail; then said he, you must go to gaol, and thereupon

he began to write our mittimus, which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many, that he was at a loss what to lay, as the ground of our commitment, whose case differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had discharged.

At length, having made divers draughts, which still G. Whitehead shewed him the defects of, he seemed to be weary of us, and rising up, said unto us, I consider that it is grown late in the day, so that the officer cannot carry you to Alesbury to night, and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington; therefore, if you will promise to be forthcoming at his house to-morrow morning, I will dismiss you for the present, and you shall hear from me again to-morrow.

We told him we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that night with our friend Isaac Penington, and would, if the Lord gave us leave, be there in the morning, ready to answer his requirings. Whereupon he dismissed us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us, for he seemed not to be of an ill-temper, nor desirous to put us to trouble, if he could help it.

Back then we went to Isaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, O, the work we had with poor John Ovy! He was so dejected in mind, so covered with shame and confusion of face, for his cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself.

The place he had found out to shelter himself in, was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the soldiers went off with us, and understand when the bustle was over, and the coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his hole, and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the house again, and finding all things quiet and still, head ventured to step within the doors, and found the Friends who were left behind, peaceably settled in the meeting again.

The sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several homes; addressing himself to Mary Penington, as the mistress of the house, he could not enough magnify the bravery and courage of the friends; nor sufficiently debase himself. He told her how long he had been a professor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youthful days, to get to meetings; how, when the ways were forelaid, and passages stopped, he swam through rivers to reach a meeting; and now, said he, that I am grown old in the professions of religion, and have long been an instructor and encourager of others; that I should thus shamefully fall short myself, is matter of shame and sorrow to me.

Thus he bewailed himself to her; and when we came back, he renewed complaints of himself to us, with high aggravations of his own cowardice: which gave occasion to

some of the Friends, tenderly to represent to him the difference between profession and possession, form and power.

He was glad, he said on our behalf, that we came off so well, and escaped imprisonment.

But when he understood that G. Whitehead and I were liable to an after-reckoning next morning, he was troubled; and wished the morning was come, and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We spent the evening in grave conversation, and in religious discourses; attributing the deliverance we hitherto had, to the Lord. And the next morning when we were up, and had eaten, we tarried some time to see what the justice would do further with us; and to discharge our engagement to him; the rest of the Friends, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us, to see the event.

And when we had staid so long, that on all hands it was concluded we might safely go, G. Whitehead and I left a few words in writing to be sent to the justice, if he sent after us, importing that we had tarried till such an hour; and not hearing from him, did now hold ourselves free to depart; yet so, as that, if he should have occasion to send for us again, upon notice thereof, we would return.

This done, we took our leave of the family, and one of another; they who were for London, taking horse; and I and my companion, setting forth on foot for Oxfordshire, went to Wiccomb; where we made a short stay, to

rest and refresh ourselves, and from thence reached our respective homes that night.

After I had spent some time at home, where, as I had no restraint, so (my sisters being gone) I had now no society; I walked up to Chalfont again, and spent a few days with my friends there.

As soon as I came in, I was told, that my father had been there that day, to see I. Penington and his wife; but they being abroad at a meeting, he returned to his inn in the town, where he intended to lodge that night. After supper, Mary Penington told me she had a mind to go and see him at his inn, (the woman of the house being a friend of ours) and I went with her. He seemed somewhat surprised to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his house; but he took no notice of my hat, at least shewed no offence at it; for, as I afterwards understood, he had now an intention to sell his estate, and thought he should need my concurrence therein; which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of favour. After we had tarried some little time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home; and having spent about an hour with us in the family, I waited on him back to his inn. On the way, he invited me to come up to London, to see my sisters, the younger of whom was then newly married, and directed me where to find them, and also gave me money to defray my charges. Accordingly I went; yet staid not long there,

but returned to my friend Isaac Penington's, where I made a little stay; and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to set forth, my friend Isaac Penington was so kind as to send a servant, with a brace of geldings, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the horses back. I intending to go no farther that day than to Wiccomb, rode no farther than to Beconsfield towns-end; having then but five miles to walk. But here a new exercise befel me, the manner of which was thus.

Before I had walked to the middle of the town, I was stopped and taken up by the watch. I asked the watchman what authority he had to stop me, travelling peaceably on the highway. He told me he would shew me his authority; and in order thereunto, had me into an house hard by, where dwelt a scrivener, whose name was Pepys. To him he gave the order which he had received from the constables; which directed him to take up all rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. I asked him for which of these he stopped me; but he could not answer me.

I thereupon informed him, what a rogue in law is, viz. one who for some notorious offence was burnt on the shoulder; and I told them they might search me if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A vagabond, I told them, was one that had no dwelling house nor certain place of abode, but I had, and was going to it; and I told them where it was. And for a beg-



gar, I bid them bring any one that could say I had begged or asked relief.

This stopped the fellow's mouth, yet he would not let me go, but being both weak-headed and strong-willed, he left me there with the scrivener, and went out to seek the constable; and having found him, brought him thither. He was a young man, by trade a tanner, somewhat better mannered than his wardsman, but not of much better judgment.

He took me with him to his house. And having settled me there, went out to take advice, as I supposed, what to do with me; leaving no body in the house to guard me, but his wife, who had a young child in her arms.

She enquired of me upon what account I was taken up; and seeming to have some pity for me, endeavoured to persuade me not to stay, but to go my way, offering to shew me a back way from their house, which would bring me into the road again beyond the town; so that none of the town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do so.

Then having sat a while in a muse, she asked me, if there was not a place of scripture which said, Peter was at a tanner's house: I told her there was such a scripture, and directed her where to find it.

After some time, she laid her child to sleep in the cradle, and stepped out on a sudden, but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasy that I was left alone in the house; fearing lest, if any thing should be missing, I might be suspected to have taken it: yet I durst not go out to stand in the street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away.

But besides that, I soon found work to employ myself in; for the child quickly waking, fell to crying; and I was fain to rock the cradle in my own defence, that I might not be annoyed with a noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the woman came in again; and finding me nursing the child, gave me many thanks, and seemed well pleased with my company.

When night came on, the constable himself came in again, and told me some of the chief of the town were met together, to consider what was fit to do with me; and that I must go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nasty hut, which they called a town-house, adjoining to their market-house, in which dwelt a poor old woman, whom they called mother Grime; where also the watch used by turns to come in and warm themselves in the night.

When I came in among them, some of them looked somewhat sourly on me, and asked me some impertinent questions, to which I gave them suitable answers.

Then they consulted one with another, how they should dispose of me that night, till they could have me before some justice of peace

to be examined. "Some proposed that I should be had to some inn, or other public house, and a guard set on me there. He that started this was probably an inn-keeper, and consulted his own interest. Others objected against this, that it would bring a charge on the town. To avoid which, they were for having the watch take charge of me, and keep me walking about the streets with them till morning. Most voices seemed to go this way, till a third wished them to consider, whether they could answer the doing of that, and the law would bear them out in it; and this put them to a stand. I heard all their debates, but let them alone, and kept my mind to the Lord.

While they thus bandied the matter to and fro, one of the company asked the rest if any of them knew who this young man was, and whither he was going? Whereupon the constable (to whom I had given both my name, and the name of the town where I dwelt) told them my name was Ellwood, and that I lived at a town called Crowell, in Oxfordshire.

Old mother Grime, sitting by and hearing this, clapped her hand on her knee and cried out, I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well. For when I was a maid, I lived with his grandfather there, when he was a young man. And thereupon she gave them such an account of my father, as made them look more respectfully on me: and so mother Grime's testimony turned the scale, and took me off from walking the rounds with the watch that night.

The constable hereupon bid them take no further care; I should lie at his house that night; and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good accommodation as the house did afford. Before I went to bed, he told me there was to be a visitation, or spiritual court, as he called it, holden next day at Amersham, about four miles from Beconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.

This was a new thing to me, and it brought a fresh exercise upon my mind. But being given up in the will of God, to suffer what he should permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and still.

In the morning, as soon as I was up, my spirit was exercised towards the Lord, in strong cries to him; that he would stand by me, and preserve me, and not suffer me to be taken in the snare of the wicked. While I was thus crying to the Lord, the other constable came, and I was called down.

This was a budge fellow, and talked high. He was a shoe-maker by trade, and his name was Clark. He threatened me with the spiritual court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stopped, and left the matter to his partner, who pretended more kindness for me, and therefore went about to persuade Clark to let me go out at the back door, and so slip away.

The plot, I suppose, was so laid, that Clark should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a fa-

vour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all ; but told them plainly, that as I came in at the fore-door, so I would go out at the fore-door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their will, they brought me out at the fore-door into the street, and wished me a good journey. Yet before I went, calling for the woman of the house, I paid her for my supper and lodging, for I had now gotten a little money in my pocket again.

After this, I got home, as I thought, very well ; but I had not been long at home, before an illness seized on me, which proved to be the small-pox. Of which, so soon as Friends had notice, I had a nurse sent me ; and in a while, Isaac Penington, and his wife's daughter, Guilielma Maria Springett (to whom I had been play-fellow in our infancy) came to visit me ; bringing with them our dear friend Edward Burrough, by whose ministry I was called to the knowledge of the truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this illness, both inwardly and outwardly. For his supporting presence was with me, which kept my spirit near unto him, and though the distemper was strong upon me ; yet I was preserved through it ; and my countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my chamber, wanting some employment, for entertainment's sake, to spend the time with ; and there being at hand a pretty good library

of books (amongst which were the works of Augustine, and others of those ancient writers, who were by many called the Fathers ; ) I betook myself to reading. And these books being printed in the old black-letter, with abbreviations of the words, difficult to be read. I spent too much time therein, and thereby much impaired my sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual, by reason of the illness I had so lately had ; which proved an injury to me afterwards ; for which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own health, and the safety of others, I went up in the beginning of the twelfth month, 1661, to my friend Isaac Penington's at Chalfont, and abode there some time, for the airing myself more fully, that I might be more fit for conversation.

1662. I mentioned before, that when I was a boy, I had made some good progress in learning ; and lost it all again before I came to be a man : Nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein, until I came amongst the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss, and lamented it ; and applied myself with utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it ; so false I found that charge to be, which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised and decried all human learning, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry, which was one of the controversies of those times.

But though I toiled hard, and spared no pains to regain what once I had been master of, yet I found it a matter of so great difficulty, that I was ready to say as the noble eunuch to Philip in another case ; *How can I, unless I had some man to guide me ?*

This I had formerly complained of to my especial friend Isaac Penington, but now more earnestly ; which put him upon considering, and contriving a means for my assistance.

He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Paget, a physician of note in London ; and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for learning, throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions.

This person having filled a public station in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London ; and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him ; which usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning.

Thus, by the mediation of my friend Isaac Penington with Dr. Paget, and of Dr. Paget with John Milton, was I admitted to come to him ; not as a servant to him, which at that time he needed not ; nor to be in the house with him ; but only to have the liberty of coming to his house, at certain hours, when I would, and to read to him what books he

should appoint me ; which was all the favour I desired.

But this being a matter which would require some time to bring about, I, in the mean while, returned to my father's house in Oxfordshire.

I had before received direction, by letters from my eldest sister, written by my father's command, to put off what cattle he had left about his house, and to discharge his servants; which I had done at the time called Michaelmas before. So that all that winter, when I was at home, I lived alone like an hermit, having a pretty large house, and nobody in it but myself, at night especially; but an elderly woman, whose father had been an old servant to the family, came every morning, and made my bed; and did what else I had occasion for her to do; till I fell ill of the small-pox, and then I had her with me, and the nurse. But now, understanding by letter from my sister, that my father did not intend to return to settle there; I made off those provisions which were in the house, that they might not be spoiled when I was gone; and because they were what I should have spent, if I had tarried there, I took the money made of them to myself, for my support at London, if the project succeeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the care of the house to a tenant of my father's, who lived in the town; and taking my leave of Crowell,



went up to my sure friend Isaac Penington again. Where understanding that the mediation used for my admittance to John Milton, had succeeded so well, that I might come when I would, I hastened to London, and in the first place went to wait upon him.

He received me courteously ; as well for the sake of Dr. Paget, who introduced me, as of Isaac Penington, who recommended me ; to both whom he bore a good respect. And having enquired divers things of me, with respect to my former progress in learning ; he dismissed me, to provide myself with such accommodations, as might be most suitable to my future studies.

I went therefore and took myself a lodging as near to his house, (which was then in Jewen-street) as conveniently as I could ; and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, except on the first-days of the week, and sitting by him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the Latin tongue, as he pleased to hear me read.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me, “ If I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation.” To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels ; so different from the common pronunciation used by the English (who speak Anglice their Latin) that

with some few other variations in sounding some consonants, in particular cases; as *c* before *e* or *i*, like *ch*; *sc* before *i*, like *sh*, &c. the Latin thus spoken, seemed as different from that which was delivered, as the English generally speak it, as if it were another language.

I had before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied diligence and industry, so far recovered the rules of grammar, in which I had once been very ready, that I could both read a Latin author, and after a sort hammer out his meaning. But this change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

————— Labor omnia vincit  
Improbis. —————

Incessant pains,  
The end obtains.

And so did I: which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning; gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For, having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.

Thus went I on, for about six weeks time, reading to him in the afternoons, and exercising myself with my own books, in my chamber, in the forenoons : I was sensible of an improvement.

But, alas ! I had fixed my studies in a wrong place. London and I could never agree for health : my lungs (as I suppose) were too tender to bear the sulphureous air of that city. So that I soon began to droop ; and in less than two months time, I was fain to leave both my studies and the city, and return into the country to preserve life ; and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose to go down to Wiccomb, and to John Rance's house there, both as he was a physician, and his wife an honest, hearty, discreet and grave matron ; whom I had a very good esteem of, and who I knew had a good regard for me.

There I lay ill a considerable time, and to that degree of weakness, that scarce any who saw me expected my life. But the Lord was both gracious to me in my illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve him in my generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much strength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my father (who was then at his house in Crowell, to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my illness had come to see me,) so much money as would clear all charges in the house, for both physick, food, and

attendance; and having fully discharged all, I took leave of my friends in that family, and in the town, and returned to my studies at London.

I was very kindly received by my master, who had conceived so good an opinion of me, that my conversation I found was acceptable to him; and he seemed heartily glad of my recovery and return; and into our old method of study we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me, as occasion required.

But, as if learning had been a forbidden fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my work, before I met with another diversion, which turned me quite out of my work.

For a sudden storm arising, from I know not what surmise of a plot, and thereby danger to the government; and the meetings of Dissenters, (such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the Quakers) were broken up throughout the city, and the prisons mostly filled with our Friends.

I was, that morning, which was the 26th day of the 8th month, 1662, at the meeting at the Bull-and-Mouth by Aldersgate; when on a sudden, a party of soldiers of the trained bands of the city, rushed in, with noise and clamour; being led by one who was called major Rosewell, an apothecary; (if I misremember not) and at that time under the ill name of a Papist.

As soon as he was come within the room, having a file or two of musketeers at his heels, he commanded his men to present their muskets at us, which they did; with intent (I suppose) to strike a terror into the people. Then he made a proclamation, that all who were not Quakers, might depart if they would.

It so happened, that a young man, an apprentice in London, whose name was — Dove, the son of Dr. Dove of Chinner, near Crowell, in Oxfordshire, came that day in curiosity to see the meeting; and coming early, and finding me there, whom he knew, came and sat down by me.

As soon as he heard the noise of soldiers, he was much startled; and asked me softly if I would not shift for myself, and try to get out. I told him no; I was in my place, and was willing to suffer if it was my lot. When he heard the notice given, that they who were not Quakers might depart, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him I could not do so; for that would be to renounce my profession; which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with cap in hand, went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his master was a rigid Presbyterian, who in all likelihood would have led him a wretched life, had he been taken and imprisoned among the Quakers.

The soldiers came so early, that the meeting was not fully gathered when they came; and when the mixed company were gone out, we were so few, and sat so thin in that large room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and single us out as they pleased.

He that commanded the party, gave us first a general charge to come out of the room. But we, who came thither at God's requirings, to worship him, (like that good man of old, who said, *We ought to obey God, rather than men.* Acts v. 29.) stirred not; but kept our places. Whereupon he sent some of his soldiers among us, with command to drag, or drive us out; which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the street, we were received there by other soldiers, who with their pikes, holden lengthwise from one another, encompassed us round as sheep in a pound; and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our number.

In this work none seemed so eager and active, as their leader major Rosewell. Which I observing, stepped boldly to him as he was passing by me, and asked him if he intended a massacre; for of that, in those times, there was a great apprehension and talk. The suddenness of the question, from such a young man especially, somewhat startled him; but recollecting himself, he answered, no; but I

intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome laws of the land.

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in number thirty-two, whereof two were catched up in the street, who had not been at the meeting, he ordered the pikes to be opened before us, and giving the word to march, went himself at the head of us; the soldiers with their pikes making a lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up Martins; and so turned down to Newgate; where I expected he would have lodged us. But to my disappointment, he went on through Newgate, and turning through the Old Baily, brought us into Fleet-street. I was then wholly at a loss to conjecture whether he would lead us; unless it were to Whitehall; (for I knew nothing then of Old-Bridewell;) but on a sudden he gave a short turn, and brought us before the gate of that prison; where knocking, the wicket was forthwith opened, and the master with his porter ready to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the street, being near me, and telling me his case, I stepped to the major, and told him, that this man was not at the meeting, but was taken up in the street; and shewed him how hard, and unjust a thing it would be to put him into prison.

I had not pleased him before, in the question I had put to him about a massacre, and

that, I suppose, made this solicitation less acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from some other. For looking sternly on me, he said, Who are you ! that take so much upon you. Seeing you are so busy, you shall be the first man that shall go into Bridewell; and taking me by the shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the porter, pointing with his finger, directed me to a fair pair of stairs, on the further side of a large court ; and bid me go up those stairs, and go on till I could go no farther.

Accordingly I went up the stairs ; the first flight whereof brought me to a fair Chapel on my left hand, which I could look into through the iron grates, but could not have gone into it if I would.

I knew that was not a place for me. Wherefore following my direction, and the winding of the stairs, I went up a story higher, which brought me into a room, which I soon perceived to be a court-room, or place of judicature. After I had stood a while there, and taken a view of it, observing a door on the further side, I went to it, and opened it, with intention to go in but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the dismalness of the place. For besides that the walls quite round were laid all over from top to bottom in black, there stood in the middle of it a great whipping-post, which was all the furniture it had.



In one of these two rooms judgment was given, and in the other it was executed, on those ill people, who for their lewdness were sent to this prison, and there sentenced to be whipped. Which was so contrived, that the court might not only hear, but see, if they pleased, their sentence executed.

A sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no encouragement, either to rest, or indeed to enter at all there, till looking earnestly, I spied on the opposite side a door, which giving me hopes of a further progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest rooms, that, so far as I remember, I was ever in ; and no wonder, for though it was now put to this mean use, it had for many ages past been the royal seat, or palace of the kings of England, until Cardinal Wolsey built Whitehall, and offered it as a peace-offering to king Henry VIII. who until that time had kept his court in this house, and had this (as the people in the house reported) for his dining room, by which name it then went.

This room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it) was threescore feet ; and had breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the front side, were very large bay-windows, in which stood a large table. It had other very large tables in it, with benches round ; and at that time the floor

was covered with rushes, against some solemn festival, which I heard it was bespoken for.

Here was my *nil ultra* ; and here I found I might set up my pillar; for although there was a door out of it, to a back pair of stairs which led to it; yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my keeper's direction to the utmost point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical saying, that the way to heaven lay by the gate of hell; the black room through which I passed into this, bearing some resemblance to the latter, as this comparatively, and by way of allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of these thoughts by the flocking in of the other Friends, my fellow-prisoners; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one, whom I knew so much as by face; and with him I had no acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the city, and in that time kept close to my studies; I was by that means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the master of the house after us, and demanded our names, which we might reasonably have refused to give, till we had been legally convened before some civil magistrate, who had power to examine us, and demand our names. But we, who were neither guiltful nor wilful, simply gave him our names, which he took down in writing.

It was, as I hinted before, a general storm which fell that day, but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our meetings; so that most of our men-Friends were made prisoners, and the prisons generally filled. And great work had the women to run about from prison to prison, to find their husbands, their fathers, their brothers or their servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several meetings, so were they dispersed to several prisons. And no less care and pains had they when they had found them, to furnish them with provisions, and other necessary accommodations.

But an excellent order, even in those early days, was practised among the Friends of that city; by which there were certain Friends of either sex, appointed to have the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all Friends, the poor especially, that should be committed thither.

This prison of Bridewell was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merrick (afterwards Vivers) and Anne Travers; both widows.

They, so soon as they understood that there were Friends brought into that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, (for the weather was cold) and ordering their servants to bring it them, with bread, cheese and beer, came themselves also with it, and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it

was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them ; or were not able to provide for themselves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw out the thread of my little stock to the utmost length, yet had I by this time reduced it to ten pence, which was all the money I had about me, or any where else at my command.

This was but a small estate to enter upon an imprisonment with ; yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had known what it was moderately to abound ; and if I should now come to suffer want, I knew I ought to be content ; and through the grace of God I was so. I had lived by Providence before, when for a long time I had no money at all ; and I had always found the Lord a good provider. I made no doubt therefore that he who sent the ravens to feed Elijah, and who clothes the lilies, would find some means to sustain me with needful food and raiment ; and I had learned by experience the truth of that saying, *natura paucis contenta* ; i. e. nature is content with few things, or a little.

Although the sight and smell of hot food was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach (for I had eaten little that morning, and was hungry) yet considering the terms of the invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it ; and after some reasonings, at length con-

cluded, that while I had ten pence in my pocket I should be but an injurious intruder to that mess, which was provided for such as, perhaps, had not two pence in theirs.

Being come to this resolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and sat down in a quiet retirement of mind, till the repast was over, which was not long; for there were hands enough at it to make light work of it.

When evening came, the porter came up the back-stairs, and opening the door, told us if we desired to have any thing that was to be had in the house, he would bring it us; for there was in the house a chandler's shop; at which beer, bread, butter, cheese, eggs and bacon might be had for money. Upon which many went to him, and spake for what of these things they had a mind to; giving him money to pay for them.

Among the rest went I, and intending to spin out my ten pence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several provisions, which he delivered; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two half-penny loaves. This suited me better; wherefore returning to my place again, I sat down and eat up one of my loaves reserving the other for the next day.

This was to me both dinner and supper. And so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to bed, if I had had

one to go to ; but that was not to be expected there ; nor had any one any bedding brought in that night.

Some of the company had been so considerate as to send for a pound of candles, that we might not sit all night in the dark ; and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several parts of that large room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed myself pretty thoroughly, and the evening was pretty far spent, I bethought myself of a lodging ; and casting mine eye on the table, which stood in the bay-window, the frame whereof looked, I thought, somewhat like a bedstead. Wherefore willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good armful of the rushes, wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my clothes, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table's frame, instead of a bolster.

My example was followed by the rest, who gathering up rushes, as I had done, made themselves beds in other parts of the room ; and so to rest we went.

I having a quiet, easy mind, was soon asleep, and slept till about the middle of the night. And then waking, finding my legs and feet very cold, I crept out of my cabin, and began to walk about apace.

This awoke and raised all the rest, who finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and

walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourselves; and then we all lay down again, and rested till morning.

Next day all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding brought in, of one sort or other, which they disposed at the ends and sides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in.

But I, who had no body to look after me, kept to my rushy-pallet under the table, for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my clothes; yet, through the merciful goodness of God unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold.

In this time divers of our company, through the solicitations of some of their relations, or acquaintance, to Sir Richard Brown (who was at that time a great master of misrule in the city, and over Bridewell more especially) were released; and among these, one William Mucklow, who lay in an hammock. He, having observed that I only was unprovided of lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the use of his hammock, while I should continue a prisoner.

This was a providential accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the Lord, and from him; and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several young men, who cast themselves into

a club, and laying down every one an equal proportion of money, put it into the hand of our friend Anne Travers, desiring her to lay it out for them in provisions, and send them in every day a mess of hot meat; and they kindly invited me to come into their club with them. These saw my person, and judged of me by that; but they saw not my purse, nor understood the lightness of my pocket. But I, who alone understood my own condition, knew I must sit down with lower commons. Wherefore, not giving them the true reason, I, as fairly as I could, excused myself from entering at present into their mess, and went on as before, to eat by myself, and that very sparingly, as my stock would bear. And before my ten-pence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me in a fresh supply.

For William Penington, a brother of Isaac Penington's, a friend and merchant in London, at whose house, before I came to live in the city, I was wont to lodge, having been at his brother's that day upon a visit, escaped this storm, and so was at liberty; and understanding when he came back what had been done, bethought himself of me; and upon enquiry, hearing where I was, came in love to see me.

He, in discourse amongst other things, asked me how it was with me as to money? and how well I was furnished? I told him, I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I



had none, though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put twenty shillings into my hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a Divine hand in thus opening his heart and hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it, yet he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful acknowledgment, as a token of love from the Lord, and from him.

On the seventh-day he went down again (as he usually did) to his brother's house at Chalfont, and in discourse gave them an account of my imprisonment. Whereupon, at his return, on the second-day of the week following, my affectionate friend Mary Penington, sent me by him forty shillings; which he soon after brought me; out of which I would have repaid him the twenty shillings he had so kindly furnished me with; but he would not admit it, telling me, I might have occasion for that, and more, before I got my liberty.

Not many days after this I received twenty shillings from my father, who being then at his house in Oxfordshire, and by letter from my sister, understanding that I was a prisoner in Bridewell, sent this money to me, for my support there; and withal a letter to my sister, for her to deliver to one called Mr. Wray, who lived near Bridewell, and was a servant to Sir Richard Brown, in some wharf of his, requesting him to intercede with his master,

who was one of the governors of Bridewell, for my deliverance. But that letter coming to my hands, I suppressed it ; and have it yet by me.

Now was my pocket from the lowest ebb risen to a full tide. I was at the brink of want, next door to nothing ; yet my confidence did not fail, nor my faith stagger : and now on a sudden I had plentiful supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up, but in humility could say, This is the Lord's doing. And, without defrauding any of the instruments of the acknowledgments due unto them, mine eye looked over and beyond them to the Lord, who I saw was the author thereof, and prime agent therein ; and with a thankful heart I returned thanksgivings and praises to him. And this great goodness of the Lord to me, I thus record, to the end that all, into whose hands this may come, may be encouraged to trust in the Lord, whose mercy is over all his works, and who is indeed a God near at hand, to help in the needful time.

Now I durst venture myself into the club, to which I had been invited ; and accordingly, having by this time gained an acquaintance with them, took an opportunity to cast myself among them ; and thenceforward, so long as we continued prisoners there together, I was one of their mess.

And now the chief thing I wanted, was employment, which scarce any wanted but my-

self; for the rest of my company were generally tradesmen, of such trades as could set themselves on work. Of these divers were tailors, some masters, some journeymen; and with those I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a novice in their art to be trusted with their work, lest I should spoil the garment, I got work from an hosier in Cheapside, which was to make night-waist-coats, of red and yellow flannel, for women and children. And with this I entered myself among the tailors, sitting cross-legged as they did; and so spent those leisure hours, with innocency and pleasure, which want of business would have made tedious. And indeed that was in a manner, the only advantage I had by it; for my master, though a very wealthy man, and one who professed not only friendship, but particular kindness to me, dealt, I thought, but hardly with me. For though he knew not what I had to subsist by, he never offered me a penny for my work, till I had done working for him; and went after I was released to give him a visit; and then he would not reckon with me neither; because, as he smilingly said, he would not let me so far into his trade, as to acquaint me with the prices of the work; but would be sure to give me enough. And thereupon he gave me one crown piece, and no more; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many dozens of waist-coats, and bought the thread myself; which I thought was very poor pay. But as Provi-

dence had ordered it, I wanted the work, more than the wages; and therefore took what he gave me without complaining.

About this time, while we were prisoners in our fair chamber, a Friend was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by Richard Brown to beat hemp; whose case was thus.

He was a very poor man, who lived by mending shoes; and on a seventh-day night late, a carman, or some other such labouring man, brought him a pair of shoes to mend, desiring him to mend them that night, that he might have them in the morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor man sat up at work upon them till after midnight, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to bed, intending to do the rest in the morning.

Accordingly he got up betimes; and though he wrought as privately as he could in his chamber, that he might avoid giving offence to any, yet he could not do it so privately, but that an ill-natured neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the Sunday. Whereupon he was had before Richard Brown; who committed him to Bridewell for a certain time, to be kept to hard labour, in beating hemp; which is labour hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same time were committed thither (for what cause I do not now remember) two lusty young men, who were called Baptists, to be kept also at the same labour.

The Friend was a poor little man, of a low condition, and mean appearance ; whereas these two Baptists were topping blades, that looked high, and spake big. They scorned to beat hemp ; and made a pish at the whipping-post : but when they had once felt the smart of it, they soon cried *peccavi*, and submitting to the punishment, set their tender hands to the beetles.

The Friend, on the other hand, acting upon a principle, as knowing he had done no evil, for which he should undergo that punishment, refused to work ; and for refusing was cruelly whipped, which he bore with wonderful constancy, and resolution of mind.

The manner of whipping there, is to strip the party to the skin, from the waist upwards ; and having fastened him to the whipping-post, so that he can neither resist nor shun the strokes, to lash the naked body, with long, but slender twigs of holly, which will bend almost like thongs, and lap round the body ; and these having little knots upon them, tear the skin and flesh, and give extreme pain.

With these rods they tormented the Friend most barbarously ; and the more, for that having mastered the two braving Baptists, they disdained to be mastered by this poor Quaker. Yet were they fain at last to yield, when they saw their utmost severity could not make him yield. And then, not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us,

When we had enquired of him how it was with him, and he had given us a brief account of both his cause and usage, it came in my mind, that I had in my box, (which I had sent for from my lodging, to keep some few books, and other necessaries in) a little gallipot with Lucatellu's balsam in it.

Wherefore, causing a good fire to be made, and setting the Friend within a blanket before the fire, we stripped him to the waist, as if he had been to be whipped again; and found his skin so cut and torn with the knotty holly-rods, both back, side, arm and breast, that it was a dismal sight to look upon. Then melting some of the balsam, I with a feather anointed all the sores; and putting a softer cloth between his skin and his shirt, helped him on with his clothes again. This dressing gave him much ease; and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor man, we took him into our mess; contriving that there should always be enough for him, as well as for ourselves. Thus he lived with us, until the time he was committed for was expired; and then he was released.

But we were still continued prisoners, by an arbitrary power, not being committed by the civil authority, nor having seen the face of any civil magistrate, from the day we were thrust in here by soldiers, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, to the 19th of the tenth month following.

On that day we were had to the sessions at the Old Baily. But not being called there, we were brought back to Bridewell, and continued there to the 29th of the same month, and then we were carried to the sessions again.

I expected I should have been called the first, because my name was first taken down ; but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called ; which gave me the advantage of hearing the pleas of the other prisoners, and discovering the temper of the court.

The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, and desired to know what they had lain so long in prison for. The court regarded nothing of that ; and did not stick to tell them so. For, said the recorder to them, If you think you have been wrongfully imprisoned, you have your remedy at law ; and may take it if you think it worth your while. The court, said he, may send for any man out of the street, and tender him the oath : so we take no notice how you came hither ; but finding you here, we tender you the oath of allegiance, which if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length præmunire you. Accordingly, as every one refused it, he was set aside, and another called.

By this I saw it was in vain for me to insist upon false imprisonment, or ask the cause of my commitment ; though I had before furnished myself with some authorities

and maxims of law on that subject, to have pleaded, if room had been given; and I had the book out of which I took them in my bosom; for the weather being cold, I wore a gown, girt about the middle, and had put the book within it. But I now resolved to wave all that, and insist upon another plea; which just then came into my mind.

As soon therefore as I was called, I stepped nimbly to the bar, and stood up upon the stepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard, and laying my hands upon the bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young man, for they looked very earnestly upon me; and we faced each other without words for awhile. At length the recorder, who was called Sir John Howel, asked me, If I would take the oath of allegiance.

To which I answered, I conceive this court hath not power to tender that oath to me, in the condition wherein I stand.

This so unexpected plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another; and said somewhat low one to another, What! doth he demur to the jurisdiction of the court? And thereupon the recorder asked me, Do you then demur to the jurisdiction of the court? Not absolutely, answered I, but conditionally; with respect to my present condition, and the circumstances I am now under.

Why, what is your present condition? said the recorder. A prisoner, replied I. And what



is that, said he, to your taking, or not taking the oath? Enough, said I, as I conceive, to exempt me from the tender thereof; while I am under this condition. Pray, what is your reason for that? said he. This, said I; that, if I rightly understand the words of the statute, I am required to say, that I do take this oath freely, and without constraint; which I cannot say, because I am not a free man, but in bonds, and under constraint. Wherefore, I conceive that, if you would tender that oath to me, ye ought first to set me free from my present imprisonment.

But, said the recorder, Will you take the oath if you be set free? Thou shalt see that, said I, when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the question.

But, said he again, You know your own mind sure, and can tell now what you would do, if you were at liberty. Yes, replied I, that I can: but I do not hold myself obliged to tell it, until I am at liberty. Therefore set me at liberty, and ye shall soon hear it.

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such trifling, and doubted also, lest some of the standers by should suspect I would take it if I was set at liberty. Wherefore, when the recorder put it upon me again, I told him plainly, no; though I thought they ought not to tender it me, till I had been set at liberty; yet if I was set at liberty, I could not take that nor any other oath, because my Lord and Master, CHRIST JESUS, had ex-

pressly commanded his disciples, *not to swear at all.*

As his command was enough to me ; so this confession of mine was enough to them. Take him away, said they, and away I was taken, and thrust into the Bail-Dock to my other Friends, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our company were called, and had refused to swear, we were all committed to Newgate, and thrust into the common side.

When we came there, we found that side of the prison very full of Friends, who were prisoners there before; as indeed were, at that time, all the other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about the town ; and our addition caused a great throng on that side. Notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our Friends, whom we found there ; and entertained by them as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

We had the liberty of the hall, which is on the first story over the gate; and which, in the day time, is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of : and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in, a-days. But in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it.

To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees or three stories high, one over the other ; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks, were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall-sides, were laid beds upon the floor ; in which the sick, and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks lay. And indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies of different ages, conditions and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us ; and I believe did so. For there were many sick, and some very weak ; though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow-prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds died.

This caused some bustle in the house. For the body of the deceased being laid out, and put into a coffin, was carried down and set in the room called the lodge ; that the coroner might enquire into the cause and manner of his death. And the manner of their doing it, is thus : As soon as the coroner is come, the turnkeys run out into the street under the gate, and seize upon every man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the coroner's inquest. And so resolute these rude fellows are, that if

any man resists or disputes it with them, they drag him in by main force, not regarding what condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a coach, and pluck the men out of it.

It so happened, that at this time they lighted on an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haste; and him they laid hold on, telling him he must come in and serve upon the coroner's inquest. He pleaded hard, begged and besought them to let him go; assuring them he was going on very urgent business, and that the stopping him would be greatly to his prejudice. But they were deaf to all intreaties; and hurried him in, the poor man chafing without remedy.

When they had got their complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this ancient man, Come, father, you are the oldest man among us; you shall be our foreman. And when the coroner had sworn them on the jury, the coffin was uncovered that they might look upon the body. But the old man, disturbed in his mind at the interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat fretful upon it; said to them, To what purpose do you shew us a dead body here? You would not have us think, sure, that this man died in this room? How then shall we be able to judge how this man came by his death, unless we see the place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept prisoner before he died?

How know we, but that the incommodiousness of the place wherein he was kept, may have occasioned his death? Therefore shew us, said he, the place wherein this man died.

This much displeased the keepers; and they began to banter the old man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he stood up tightly to them; Come, come, said he, though you have made a fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a child of me now I am here. Mistake not yourselves; I understand my place, and your duty; and I require you to conduct me and my brethren, to the place where this man died; refuse it at your peril.

They now wished they had let the old man go about his business, rather than by troubling him have brought this trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his resolution, and was peremptory, the coroner told them they must go shew him the place.

It was in the evening when they began this work; and by this time it was grown bed-time with us; so that we had taken down our hammocks, which in the day were hung up by the walls, and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in readiness to go into them. When on a sudden we heard a great noise of tongues, and of tramlings of feet, coming up towards us. And by and by one of the the turnkeys opening our door, said, Hold, hold, do not undress yourselves, here is the coroner's inquest coming to see you.

As soon as they were come to the door, (for within the door there was scarce room for them to come) the foreman, who led them lifting up his hand, said, Lord, bless me, what a sight is here ! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner ! We need not now question, said he to the rest of the jury, how this man came by his death ; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead ; for this place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well, added he, if it please God to lengthen my life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the king know how his subjects are dealt with.

Whether he did so or no, I cannot tell ; but I am apt to think that he applied himself to the mayor, or the sheriffs of London. For the next day one of the sheriffs, called Sir William Turner, a woollen-draper in Paul's yard, came to the press yard ; and having ordered the porter of Bridewell to attend him there ; sent up a turnkey amongst us to bid all the Bridewell prisoners come down to him ; for they knew us not ; but we knew our own company.

Being come before him in the press-yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. Gentlemen, said he, I understand the prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my power to release you, and the rest of your friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come

hither to enquire how it is ; and I would have all you who came from Bridewell, return thither again, which will be a better accommodation to you, and your removal will give the more room to those that are left behind ; and here is the porter of Bridewell, your old keeper, to attend you thither.

We duly acknowledged the favour of the sheriff to us and our friends above, in this removal of us ; which would give them more room, and us a better air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him on another occasion, which was this.

When we came into Newgate, we found a shabby fellow there among the Friends, who upon inquiry we understood had thrust himself among our Friends, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him, till they found him shut in with them in the prison ; and then took no notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them cause to take notice of him ; for wherever he saw any victuals brought forth for them to eat, he would be sure to thrust in with knife in hand, and make himself his own carver. And so impudent was he, that if he saw the provision was short, whoever wanted, he would be sure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy drone upon the labours of the industrious bees, to his high content, and their no small trouble ; to whom his con-

pany was as offensive, as his ravening was oppressive ; nor could they get any relief by their complaining of him to the keepers.

This fellow hearing the notice which was given for the Bridewell men to go down, in order to be removed to Bridewell again, and hoping no doubt, that fresh quarters would produce fresh commons, and that he should fare better with us than where he was, thrust himself amongst us, and went down into the press-yard with us. Which I knew not of, till I saw him standing there with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker ; at sight of which my spirit was much stirred.

Wherefore, as soon as the sheriff had done speaking to us, and we had made our acknowledgment of his kindness, I stept a little nearer to him, and pointing to that fellow, said, That man is not only none of our company, for he is no Quaker, but is an idle dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself in among our Friends to be sent to prison with them, that he might live upon them ; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell.

At this the sheriff smiled ; and calling the fellow forth, said to him, How came you to be in prison ? I was taken at a meeting, said he ; But what business had you there ? said the sheriff. I went to hear, said he. Aye, you went upon a worse design, it seems, replied the sheriff ; but I will disappoint you, said he ; for I will change your company, and send you



to them that are like yourself. Then calling for the turnkey, he said, Take this fellow and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.

Hitherto this fellow had stood with his hat on, as willing to have passed if he could for a Quaker; but as soon as he heard this doom passed on him, off went his hat, and to bowing and scraping he fell, with Good, your worship, have pity upon me, and set me at liberty. No, no, said the sheriff, I will not so far disappoint you; since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me. Then bidding the turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons; and so Friends had a good deliverance from him.

The sheriff then bidding us farewell, the porter of Bridewell came to us, and told us we knew our way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us; therefore he would not stay nor go with us, but left us to take our own time, so we were in before bed-time.

Then went we up again to our Friends in Newgate, and gave them an account of what had passed; and having taken a solemn leave of them, we made up our packs to be gone. But before I pass from Newgate, I think it not amiss, to give the reader some little account of what I observed while I was there.

The common side of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the worst part of that prison; not so much from the place as the people; it being usually stocked with the veri-

est rogues, and meanest sort of felons and pick-pockets, who not being able to pay chamber-rent on the master's side, are thrust in there. And if they come in bad, to be sure they do not go out better; for here they have an opportunity to instruct one another in their art, and impart each to other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall, which is the first room over the gate, is a good place to walk in, when the prisoners are out of it, saving the danger of catching some cattle, which they may have left in it: and there I used to walk in a morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the day-time when they have been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this; that when any of our women Friends came there to visit the prisoners, if they had not relations of their own there, to take care of them, I, as being a young man, and more at leisure than most others, (for I could not play the tailor there) was forward to go down with them to the grate, and see them safe out. And sometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons, who at such times were very importunate beggars, which I forthwith distributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But so troublesome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as these when they knew there was a dole to be

given. Yet this I think made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose themselves to one side of the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other. And when I walked there, I had usually a book in my hand, on which I had mine eye, which made them think I did not heed what they said. By this means mine ear being attentive to them, I heard them relate one to another many of their roguish pranks.

One day as I was thus walking to and fro beside them, I heard them recounting one to another what feats they had done at pocket-picking and shop-lifting. Whereupon, turning short upon them, I asked them which of you all will undertake to pick my pocket? They were not very forward to answer, but viewed me round. I wore a long gown, which was lapped over before, and tied about the middle, and had no pocket-holes in it. When they had a while considered it, and I having taken another turn was coming up again to them, one of them said, Why, master, if you will promise not to prosecute us, we will show you a piece of our skill. Nay, hold there, said I, I won't so far encourage you in evil, as to promise not to prosecute; and away I turned again; having mine eye on my book, but mine ears to them. And in a while I heard them contriving how they would have done it. I, said one of them, would give him the budge, and before he can recover himself, you, said he to another of them, having your pen-knife ready, should

slit his gown, and then, said he, let Honeypot alone for the diving part. This Honeypot was a little boy, then in prison with them for picking a pocket, who, by his stature, did not seem to be above ten or a dozen years old, but for his dexterity at pocket-picking, was held to be one of the top of the trade. As for the budge, I had had it given me often in the street, but understood not the meaning of it till now : and now I found it was a jostle, enough to throw one almost upon his nose.

These are some of the common evils, which make the common side of Newgate; in measure a type of hell upon earth. But there was at that time, something of another nature, more particular and accidental, which was very offensive to me.

When we came first into Newgate, there lay in a little by-place like a closet, near the room where we were lodged, the quartered bodies of three men, who had been executed some days before, for a real or pretended plot; which was the ground, or at least pretext for that storm in the city, which had caused this imprisonment. The names of these three men were Philips, Tongue and Gibbs; and the reason why their quarters lay so long there was, the relations were all that while petitioning to have leave to bury them; which at length with much ado was obtained for the quarters, but not for the heads, which were ordered to be set up in some parts of the city.

I saw the heads when they were brought up to be boiled. The hangman brought them in a dirty dust-basket, out of some by-place ; and setting them down amongst the felons, he and they made sport with them. They took them by the hair, flouting, jeering and laughing at them ; and then giving them some ill names, boxed them on the ears and cheeks. Which done, the hangman put them into his kettle, and parboiled them with bay-salt and cummin-seed ; that to keep them from putrefaction, and this to keep off the fowls from seizing on them. The whole sight (as well that of the bloody quarters first, as this of the heads afterwards) was both frightful and loathsome ; and begat an abhorrence in my nature. Which as it had rendered my confinement there by much the more uneasy, so it made our removal from thence to Bridewell, even in that respect the more welcome. Whither we now go.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our Friends, whom we were to leave behind, we took our bundles on our shoulders, and walked two and two abreast, through the Old Baily into Fleet Street, and so to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the streets pretty full of people ; both the shopkeepers at their doors, and passengers in the way, would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going. And when we had told them we were prisoners, going from

one prison to another, from Newgate to Bridewell, What, said they, without a keeper ! No, said we, for our word, which we have given, is our keeper. Some thereupon would advise us not to go to prison, but to go home. But we told them, we could not do so ; we could suffer for our testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to wash or drink at. And indeed, we might have easily gone quite away if we would, there was a passage through the court into the street, but we were true and steady prisoners ; and looked upon this liberty, arising from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us ; so that both conscience and honour stood now engaged for our true imprisonment.

Adjoining to this room wherein we were, was such another ; both newly fitted up for work-houses, and accordingly furnished with very great blocks for beating hemp upon, and a lusty whipping-post there was in each. And it was said, that Richard Brown had ordered those blocks to be provided for the Quakers to work on ; resolving to try his

strength with us in that case; but if that was his purpose, it was over-ruled, for we never had any work offered us, nor were we treated after the manner of those that are to be so used. Yet we set ourselves to work on them; for, being very large, they served the tailors for shop-boards, and others wrought upon them, as they had occasion; and they served us very well for tables to eat on.

We had also besides this room, the use of our former chamber above, to go into when we thought fit: and thither sometimes I withdrew, when I found a desire for retirement and privacy, or had something on my mind to write, which could not so well be done in company. And indeed, about this time my spirit was more than ordinarily exercised; though on very different subjects. For, on the one hand, the sense of the exceeding love and goodness of the Lord to me, in his gracious and tender dealings with me, did deeply affect my heart; and caused me to break forth in a song of thanksgiving and praise to him: And on the other hand, a sense of the profaneness, debaucheries, cruelties, and other horrid impieties of the age, fell heavy on me; and lay as a pressing weight upon my spirit. And this drew from me a close *exprobration*, which my mournful muse vented in some lines, to which I gave for a title, "*Speculum Seculi.\**"

\* See No 1 of the Appendix.

After I had in the said poem, somewhat eased my spirit of that which for sometime, had lain as a load upon me, I breathed forth a hymn to God, in acknowledgement of his great goodness to me, in profession of my grateful love to him, and supplication to him, for the continuance of his kindness to me, in preserving me from the snares of the enemy, and keeping me faithful unto himself.\*

In this sort did I spend some leisure hours during my confinement in Bridewell; especially after our return from Newgate thither, when we had more liberty, and more opportunity and room for retirement and thought. For, as the poet said,

*Carmina scribentes secessum & otia querunt.*

They who would write in measure, retire where they may stillness have, and leisure. And this privilege we enjoyed, by the indulgence of our keeper, whose heart God disposed to favour us. So that both the master and his porter were very civil and kind to us; and had been so indeed all along. For when we were shut up before, the porter would readily let some of us go home in an evening, and stay at home till next morning, which was a great conveniency to men of trade and business, which I being free from, forbore asking for myself, that I might not hinder others.

\* See No. 2 of the Appendix.



This he observed, and asked me when I meant to ask to go out. I told him I had not much occasion nor desire ; yet at sometime or other perhaps I might have ; but when I had I would ask him but once, and if he then denied me, I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from Newgate, I had a desire to go thither again, to visit my friends who were prisoners there ; more especially my dear friend and father in Christ, Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner with many Friends more, in that part of Newgate which was then called Justice-hall. Whereupon the porter coming in my way, I asked him to let me go out for an hour or two, to see some friends of mine that evening.

He to enhance the kindness, made it a matter of some difficulty ; and would have me stay till another night. I told him I would be at a word with him ; for as I had told him before, that if he denied me I would ask him no more ; so he should find I would keep to it.

He was no sooner gone out of my sight ; but I espied his master crossing the court. Wherefore stepping to him, I asked him, If he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some friends of mine that evening. Yes, said he, very willing ; and thereupon away walked I to Newgate ; where having spent the evening among Friends, I returned in good time.

Under this easy restraint we lay till the court sat at the Old-Baily again; and then, whether it was that the heat of the storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it, I know not; we were called to the bar, and without further question discharged.

Whereupon we returned to Bridewell again, and having raised some money among us, and therewith gratified both the master and his porter, for their kindness to us, we spent sometime in a solemn meeting, to return our thankful acknowledgement to the LORD, both for his preservation of us in prison, and deliverance of us out of it; and then taking a solemn farewell of each other, we departed with bag and baggage. And I took care to return my hammock to the owner, with due acknowledgement of his great kindness in lending it me.

Being now at liberty, I visited more generally my friends that were still in prison; and more particularly my friend and benefactor William Penington, at his house; and then went to wait upon my master Milton. With whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted studies, until I had been in Buckinghamshire, to visit my worthy friends Isaac Penington, and his virtuous wife; with other Friends in that country.

Thither therefore I betook myself, and the weather being frosty, and the ways by that means clean and good, I walked it thorough in

a day ; and was received by my friends there with such demonstration of hearty kindness, as made my journey very easy to me.

I had spent in my imprisonment that twenty shillings, which I had received of William Penington, and twenty of the forty which had been sent me from Mary Penington, and had the remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due acknowledgement of her husband's and her great care of me, and liberality to me in the time of my need. She would have had me kept it. But I begged her to accept it from me again ; since it was the redundancy of their kindness, and the other part had answered the occasion for which it was sent ; and my importunity prevailed.

I intended only a visit hither, not a continuance ; and therefore purposed, after I had staid a few days, to return to my lodging and former course in London ; but Providence ordered it otherwise.

Isaac Penington had at that time two sons and one daughter, all then very young, of whom the eldest son, John Penington, and the daughter, Mary, the wife of Daniel Wharley, are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both skilful and curious in pronunciation, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the rudiments of the English tongue, to which end he had sent for a man out of Lancashire, whom upon enquiry he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the most accu-

rate English teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His name was Richard Bradley. But as he pretended no higher than the English tongue, and had led them by grammar rules to the highest improvement they were capable of in that, he had then taken his leave of them, and was gone up to London, to teach an English school of Friends' children there.

This put my friend to a fresh straight. He had sought for a new teacher to instruct his children in the Latin tongue, as the old had done in the English, but had not yet found one. Wherefore, one evening as we sat together by the fire in his bed-chamber, (which for want of health he kept,) he asked me (his wife being by) If I would be so kind to him, as to stay a while with him, till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at; and in the mean time enter his children in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

This question was not more unexpected, than surprising to me; and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former purpose and undertaking, of endeavouring to improve myself by following my studies with my master Milton, which this would give at least a present diversion from, and for how long I could not foresee.

But the sense I had of the manifold obligations I lay under to these worthy friends of mine, shut out all reasonings, and disposed my mind to an absolute resignation to their

desire, that I might testify my gratitude by a willingness to do them any friendly service that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my ability to carry on that work to its due height and proportion, yet as that was not proposed, but an initiation only, by accident into grammar, I consented to the proposal, as a present expedient, till a more qualified person should be found; without further treaty, or mention of terms between us, than that of mutual friendship. And to render this digression from my own studies the less uneasy to my mind, I recollected, and often thought of that rule in Lilly,

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,  
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

He that th' unlearn'd doth teach, may quickly be  
More learn'd than they, though most unlearned he,

With this consideration I undertook this province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the year 1669, near seven years from the time I came thither. In which time having the use of my friends books, as well as of mine own, I spent my leisure hours much in reading; not without some improvement to myself in my private studies; which, with the good success of my labours bestowed on the children, and the agreeableness of conversation which I found in the family, rendered my undertaking more satisfactory, and my stay there more easy to me.

But, alas! not many days, not to say weeks had I been there, ere we were almost over-

whelmed with sorrow, for the unexpected loss of Edward Borough, who was justly very dear to us all.

This not only good, but great-good man, by a long and close confinement in Newgate, through the cruel malice and malicious cruelty of Richard Brown, was taken away by hasty death, to the unutterable grief of very many, and unspeakable loss to the church of Christ in general.

The particular obligation I had to him as the immediate instrument of my conviction, and high affection for him resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my mind, that it was some pretty time before my passion could prevail, to express itself in words; so true I found that of the Tragœdian,

*Cura leves loquuntur,*

*Ingentes stupent.*

Light griefs break forth, and easily get vent,

Great ones are thro' amazement closely pent.

At length my muse, not bearing to be any longer mute, brake forth in an acrostick, which I called "A pathetic Elegy on the Death of that dear and faithful Servant of God, Edward Borough. Who died the 14th of the 12th Month, 1662."\*

1663. Having discharged this duty to the memory of my deceased friend, I went on in my new province, instructing my little pupils in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, to the

\* See No 3. of the Appendix.

mutual satisfaction of both their parents and myself. As soon as I had gotten a little money in my pocket (which as a premium without compact I received from them) I took the first opportunity to return to my friend William Penington, the money which he had so kindly furnished me with in my need, at the time of my imprisonment in Bridewell, with a due acknowledgement of my obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this family, various suspicions arose in the minds of some concerning me, with respect to Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli. For she having now arrived to a marriageable age, and being in all respects a very desirable woman, whether regard was had to her outward person, which wanted nothing to render her completely comely, or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary and highly obliging, or to her outward fortune, which was fair; and which with some, hath not the last, nor the least place in consideration: she was openly and secretly sought, and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every rank and condition; good and bad, rich and poor, friend and foe. To whom in their respective turns (till he at length came for whom she was reserved) she carried herself with so much evenness of temper, such courteous freedom, guarded with the strictest modesty, that as it gave encouragement or ground of

hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of offence or just cause of complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an eye of jealousy and fear, that I would improve the opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar conversation with her, to my own advantage in working myself into her good opinion and favour, to the ruin of their pretences.

According therefore to the several kinds and degrees of their fears of me, they suggested to her parents their ill surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the sincerity of my intentions in coming at first among the Quakers; urging with a why may it not be so? that the desire and hopes of obtaining by that means, so fair a fortune, might be the prime and chief inducement to me to thrust myself amongst that people. But this surmise could find no place with those worthy friends of mine (her father in law, and her mother) who, besides the clear sense and sound judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what terms I came among them, how straight and hard the passage was to me, how contrary to all worldly interest, which lay fair another way, how much I had suffered from my father for it, and how regardless I had been of attempting, or seeking any thing of that nature, in these three or four years that I had been amongst them.



Some others measuring me by the propensity of their own inclinations, concluded I would steal her, run away with her, and marry her. Which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by night as well as by day, without any other company than her maid. For so great indeed was the confidence that her mother had in me, that she thought her daughter safe if I was with her, even from the plots and designs that others had upon her. And so honourable were the thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a suspicion that I could be capable of so much baseness, as to betray the trust she with so great freedom, reposed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various fears which filled the jealous heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate worth and virtue which adorned that excellent dame, and attracted the eyes and hearts of so many, with the greatest importunity to seek and solicit her; nor was I so devoid of natural heat, as not to feel some sparklings of desire as well as others. But the force of truth, and sense of honour, suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the bounds of fair and virtuous friendship. For I easily foresaw that if I should have attempted any thing in a dishonourable way, by force or

fraud, upon her, I should have thereby brought a wound upon mine own soul, a foul scandal upon my religious profession, and an infamous stain upon mine honour; either of which was far more dear unto me than my life. Wherefore having observed how some others had befooled themselves, by misconstruing her common kindness, expressed in an innocent, open, free and familiar conversation, springing from the abundant affability, courtesy and sweetness of her natural temper, to be the effect of a singular regard and peculiar affection to them; I resolved to shun the rock on which I had seen so many run and split; and remembering that saying of the poet,

*Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.*

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Happy's he,  
Whom other's dangers wary make to be.

I governed myself in a free yet respectful carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserved a fair reputation with my friends, and enjoyed as much of her favour and kindness, in a virtuous and firm friendship, as was fit for her to shew, or for me to seek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented life, I had leisure sometimes to write a copy of verses on one occasion or another, as the poetic vein naturally opened, without taking pains to polish them. Such was this, occasioned by the sudden death of some lusty people in their full strength.\*

\* See No. 4 of the Appendix.

As the consideration of the uncertainty of human life drew from me some lines thereon, so the sense I had of the folly of mankind, in mis-spending the little time allowed them in evil ways, and vain sports, led me more particularly to trace the several courses wherein the generality of men run, unprofitably at best, if not to their hurt and ruin; which I introduced with that axiom of the preacher, Eccles. i. 2.\*

After I had thus enumerated some of the many vanities, in which the generality of men mis-spend their time, I sang an ode in praise of virtue.†

1664. About this time, my father resolving to sell his estate, and having reserved for his own use such parts of his household goods as he thought fit; not willing to take upon himself the trouble of selling the rest, gave them unto me. Whereupon I went down to Crowell, and having before given notice there, and thereabouts, that I intended a public sale of them, I sold them, and thereby put some money into my pocket. Yet I sold such things only as I judged useful; leaving the pictures and armour (of which there was some store there) unsold.

Not long after this my father sent for me to come to him at London, about some business; which, when I came there, I understood

\* See No. 5 of the Appendix.

† See No. 6 of the Appendix.

was to join with him in the sale of his estate, which the purchaser required for his own satisfaction and safety ; I being then the next heir to it in law. And although I might probably have made some advantageous terms for myself by standing off, yet when I was satisfied by counsel that there was no entail upon it, or right of reversion to me, but that he might lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily joined with him in the sale, without asking or having the least gratuity or compensation ; no, not so much as the fee I had given to counsel, to secure me from any danger in doing it.

1665. There having been, some time before this, a very severe law made against the Quakers by name, and more particularly prohibiting our meetings under the sharpest penalties, of five pounds for the first offence so called, ten pounds for the second, and banishment for the third ; under pain of felony for escaping or returning without license.— Which law was looked upon to have been procured by the bishops, in order to bring us to a conformity to their way of worship : I wrote a few lines in way of dialogue between a Bishop and a Quaker, which I called “Conformity Prest and Represt.”\*

No sooner was this cruel law made, but it was put in execution with great severity. The sense whereof working strongly on my spirit,

\* See No. 7 of the Appendix.

made me cry earnestly to the Lord, that he would arise, and set up his righteous judgment in the earth, for the deliverance of his people from all their enemies, both inward and outward: and in these terms I uttered it.\*

Although the storm raised by the act for banishment, fell with the greatest weight and force upon some other parts, as at London, Hertford, &c. yet we were not, in Buckinghamshire, wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of that shower reached us also.

For a friend of Amersham, whose name was Edward Perot, or Parret, departing this life, and notice being given that his body would be buried there on such a day, which was the first day of the fifth Month, 1665, the Friends of the adjacent parts of the country resorted pretty generally to the burial; so that there was a fair appearance of Friends and neighbours, the deceased having been well beloved by both.

After we had spent some time together in the house, Morgan Watkins, who at that time happened to be at Isaac Penington's, being with us, the body was taken up and borne on Friends' shoulders along the street, in order to be carried to the burying-ground, which was at the towns end; being part of an orchard belonging to the deceased, which he in his life time had appointed for that service.

\* See No. 8 of the Appendix.

It so happened, that one Ambrose Benett, a barrister at law, and a justice of the peace for that county, riding through the town that morning in his way to Alesbury, was by some ill-disposed person or other, informed that there was a Quaker to be buried there that day; and that most of the Quakers in the country were come thither to the burial.

Upon this he set up his horses and staid; and when we (not knowing any thing of his design against us) went innocently forward, to perform our christian duty, for the interment of our friend, he rushed out of his inn upon us, with the constables, and a rabble of rude fellows whom he had gathered together; and having his drawn sword in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin. But the Friend who was so stricken (whose name was Thomas Dell) being more concerned for the safety of the dead body, than his own, lest it should fall from his shoulder, and any indecency thereupon follow, held the coffin fast; which the justice observing, and being enraged that his word (how unjust soever) was not forthwith obeyed, set his hand to the coffin, and with a forcible thrust threw it off from the bearer's shoulders, so that it fell to the ground in the midst of the street, and there we were forced to leave it.

For immediately thereupon, the justice giving command for the apprehending us, the constables with the rabble fell on us, and drew

some, and drove others into the inn; giving thereby an opportunity to the rest to walk away.

Of those that were thus taken I was one. And being, with many more, put into a room under a guard, we were kept there till another justice (called Sir Thomas Clayton, whom justice Benett had sent for to join with him in committing us) was come. And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out ten of us, and committed us to Alesbury gaol, for what neither we nor they knew: For we were not convicted of having either done, or said any thing which the law could take hold of; for they took us up in the open street, the king's highway, not doing any unlawful act; but peaceably carrying and accompanying the corps of our deceased friend, to bury it. Which they would not suffer us to do; but caused the body to lie in the open street, and in the cart-way, so that all the travellers that passed by, whether horse-men, coaches, carts, or waggons, were fain to break out of the way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost night. And then, having caused a grave to be made in the unconsecrated part (as it is accounted) of that which is called the church-yard, they forcibly took the body from the widow, whose right and property it was, and buried it there.

When the justices had delivered us prisoners to the constable, it being then late in the day,

which was the seventh-day of the week, he not willing to go so far as Alesbury, nine long miles, with us that night, nor to put the town to the charge of keeping us there that night, and the first day and night following, dismissed us upon our parole to come to him again at a set hour on the second-day morning : Whereupon we all went home to our respective habitations ; and coming to him punctually according to promise, were by him (without guard) conducted to the prison.

The gaoler (whose name was Nathaniel Birch) had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, with great rudeness and cruelty to some of our Friends of the lower side of the county ; whom he combining with the clerk of the peace, whose name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his gaol, and after they were legally discharged in court, detained them in prison, using great violence, and shutting them up close in the common gaol among the felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees, which they were the more straitened in, from his treacherous dealing with them. And they having through suffering, maintained their freedom, and obtained their liberty, we were the more concerned to keep, what they had so hardly gained ; and therefore resolved not to make any contract or terms for either chamber-rent or fees, but to demand a free prison, which we did.

When we came in, the gaoler was ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that



day to begin the assize ; and his wife was somewhat at a loss how to deal with us : But being a cunning woman, she treated us with great appearance of courtesy, offering us the choice of all her rooms ; and when we asked upon what terms, she still referred us to her husband, telling us she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to have drawn us to take possession of some of her chambers at a venture, and trust to her husband's kind usage. But we, who at the cost of our Friends had a proof of his kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman, and therefore told her we would not settle any where till her husband came home ; and then would have a free prison, wheresoever he put us.

Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the prison, in which was a well of very good water ; and having beforehand sent to a Friend in the town, a widow woman, whose name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us some bread and cheese, we sat down upon the ground round about the well ; and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well.

Our great concern was for our friend Isaac Penington, because of the tenderness of his constitution ; but he was so lively in his spirit, and so cheerfully given up to suffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any encouragement from us.

In this posture the gaoler, when he came home found us ; and having before he came to us consulted his wife, and by her understood on what terms we stood : When he came to us, he hid his teeth, and putting on a shew of kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old friend Mr. Penington ; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his house we pleased ; we asked upon what terms letting him know withal, that we determined to have a free prison.

He, like the sun and wind in the fable, that strove which of them should take from the traveller his cloak, having, like the wind, tried rough, boisterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us. Wherefore he told us, we should make the terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired : If we thought fit, when we were released to give him any thing, he would thank us for it ; and if not, he would demand nothing.

Upon these terms we went in, and disposed ourselves ; some in the dwelling-house, others in the malt-house, where they chose to be.

During the assize, we were brought before Judge Morton a sour angry man who very rudely reviled us, but would not hear either us or the cause ; but referred the matter to the two justices who had committed us.

They, when the assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their inn, and

fined us as I remember six shillings and eight pence a-piece ; which we consenting to pay, they committed us to prison again for one month from that time, on the act for banishment.

When we had lain there that month, I with another went to the gaoler to demand our liberty, which he readily granted ; telling us, The door should be opened, when we pleased to go.

This answer of his I reported to the rest of my friends there, and thereupon we raised among us a small sum of money, which they put into my hand, for the gaoler : Whereupon I (taking another with me) went to the gaoler with the money in my hand ; and reminding him of the terms upon which we accepted the use of his rooms, I told him, That although we could not pay chamber-rent or fees, yet inasmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small token ; and thereupon gave him the money. He putting it into his pocket, said, I thank you and your friends for it ; and to let you see I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look on it, to see how much it is.

The prison door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective homes.

But before I left the prison, considering one day with myself the different kinds of liberty and confinement, freedom and bondage, I took my pen, and wrote the following ænigma, or riddle.

Lo! here a riddle to the wise,  
 In which a mystery there lies,  
 Read it therefore with that eye,  
 Which can discern a mystery.

### THE RIDDLE.

Some men are free, while they in prison lie,  
 Others, who ne'er saw prison, captives die.

### CAUTION.

He that can receive it, may,  
 He that cannot, let him stay ;  
 And not be hasty, but suspend  
 His judgment, till he sees the end.

### SOLUTION.

He only's free indeed, that's free from sin,  
 And he is fastest bound, that's bound therein.

### CONCLUSION.

This is the liberty I chiefly prize,  
 The other without this I can despise.

Some little time before I went to Alesbury prison, I was desired by my quondam master Milton to take an house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the safety of himself and his family ; the pestilence then growing hot in London, I took a pretty box for him in Giles-Chalfont, a mile from me ; of which I gave him notice, and intended to have waited on him and seen him well settled in it ; but was prevented by that imprisonment.

But now being released and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him in to the country.

After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his ; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done, return it to him, with my judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled "Paradise Lost." After I had with the best attention read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly but freely told him : and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of paradise lost, but what hast thou to say of paradise found? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject.

After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my occasions drew me to London) he shewed me his second poem, called "Paradise Regained;" and in a pleasant tone said to me, This is owing to you ; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont ; which before I had not thought of. But from this digression I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home (about a month, perhaps) before Isaac Penington was taken out of his house in an arbitrary manner, by military force, and carried prisoner to Alesbury gaol again; where he lay three quarters of a year, with great hazard of his life, it being the sickness year, and the plague being not only in the town, but in the gaol.

Meanwhile his wife and family were turned out of his house, called the Grange at Peter's Chalfont, by them who had seized upon his estate. And the family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. Mary Penington herself, with her younger children, went down to her husband at Alesbury. Guli with her maid went to Bristol to see her former maid Anne Hersent, who was married to a merchant of that city, whose name was Thomas Biss; I went to Alesbury with the children, but not finding the place agreeable to my health, I soon left it, and returning to Chalfont, took a lodging and was dieted in the house of a friendly man, and after some time went to Bristol to conduct Guli home.

Meanwhile Mary Penington took lodgings in a farm-house called Bottrels, in the parish of Giles-Chalfont; where, when we returned from Bristol we found her.

We had been there but a very little time, before I was sent to prison again, upon this occasion. There was in those times a meeting once a month, at the house of George Salter, a

Friend of Hedgerly, to which we sometimes went; and Morgan Watkins being with us, he and I, with Guli and her maid, and one Judith Parker, wife of Dr. Parker one of the college of physicians at London, with a maiden daughter of theirs (neither of whom were Quakers, but as acquaintance of Mary Penington, were with her on a visit) walked over to that meeting, it being about the middle of the first month, and the weather good.

This place was about a mile from the house of Ambrose Benett, the justice, who the summer before had sent me and some other Friends to Alesbury prison, from the burial of Edward Parret of Amersham; and he (by what means I know not) getting notice, not only of the meeting, but, as was supposed, of our being there, came himself to it; and as he came, caught up a stackwood-stick, big enough to have knocked any man down, and brought it with him hidden under his cloak.

Being come to the house he stood for awhile without the door, and out of sight; listening to hear what was said, for Morgan was then speaking in the meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his companions as an argument, that Morgan was a jesuit, viz. That in his preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one: whereas, Morgan (good man!) was better versed in Welsh than in Latin; which, I

suppose, he had never learned, I am sure he did not understand it.

When this martial justice (who at Amer-sham had with his drawn sword struck an unarmed man, who he knew would not strike again) had now stood some time abroad, on a sudden he rushed in among us, with the stack-wood-stick held up in his hand ready to strike; crying out, Make way there; and an ancient woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the stick a shrewd blow over the breast. Then pressing through the crowd to the place where Morgan stood, he plucked him from thence; and caused so great a disorder in the room, that it brake the meeting up; yet would not the people go away, or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the issue would be.

Then taking pen and paper, he sat down at the table among us, and asked several of us our names, which we gave, and he set down in writing.

Amongst others he asked Judith Parker, the doctor's wife, what her name was, which she readily gave; and thence taking occasion to discourse him, she so overmastered him by clear reason, delivered in fine language, that he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her name, and dismissed her; yet did not she remove, but kept her place amongst us.

When he had taken what number of names he thought fit, he singled out half a dozen; whereof Morgan was one, I another, one man



more, and three women, of which the woman of the house was one, although her husband then was, and for divers years before had been, a prisoner in the Fleet for tithes, and had nobody to take care of his family and business but her his wife.

We six he committed to Alesbury gaol. Which when the doctor's wife heard him read to the constable, she attacked him again; and having put him in mind that it was a sickly time, and that the pestilence was reported to be in that place, she in handsome terms desired him to consider in time, how he would answer the cry of our blood, if by his sending us to be shut up in an infected place, we should lose our lives there. This made him alter his purpose, and by a new mittimus sent us to the house of correction at Wiccomb. And although he committed us upon the act for banishment, which limited a certain time for imprisonment, yet he in his mittimus limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due course of law; so little regardful was he, though a lawyer, of keeping to the letter of the law.

We were committed on the thirteenth day of the month called March, 1665, and were kept close prisoners there till the seventh day of the month called June, 1666; which was some days above twelve weeks, and much above what the act required.

1666. Then were we sent for to the justice's house, and the rest being released, Morgan Watkins and I were required to find sureties

for our appearance at the next assize ; which we refusing to do, were committed anew to our old prison, the house of correction at Wiccomb, there to lie until the next assizes : Morgan being, in this second mittimus, represented as a notorious offender in preaching ; and I, as being upon the second conviction, in order to banishment. There we lay till the twenty-fifth of the same month ; and then, by the favour of the earl of Ancram, being brought before him at his house, we were discharged from the prison, upon our promise to appear, if at liberty and in health, at the assizes. Which we did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

During my imprisonment in this prison, I betook myself for an employment, to making of nets for kitchen service, to boil herbs, &c. in ; which trade I learned of Morgan Watkins, and selling some, and giving others, I pretty well stocked the Friends of that country with them.

Though in that confinement I was not very well suited with company for conversation ; Morgan's natural temper not being very agreeable to mine, yet we kept a fair and brotherly correspondence, as became Friends, prison-fellows and bed-fellows ; which we were. And indeed it was a good time I think to us all, for I found it so to me ; the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my soul with the refreshing dews of his divine life, whereby my spirit was more and more quickened to him, and truth gained ground in me over the temp-

tations and snares of the enemy. Which frequently raised in my heart thanksgivings and praises unto the Lord. And at one time more especially, the sense I had of the prosperity of truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my heart with abundant joy, made my cup overflow, and the following lines dropped out.

For truth I suffer bonds, in truth I live,  
 And unto truth this testimony give ;  
 That truth shall over all exalted be,  
 And in dominion reign for evermore :  
 The child's already born, that this may see ;  
 Honour, praise, glory be to God therefore.

And underneath thus,

Tho' death and hell should against truth combine,  
 Its glory shall through all their darkness shine.

This I saw with an eye of faith, beyond the  
 reach of human sense. For,

As strong desire  
 Draws objects nigher  
 In apprehension, than indeed they are ;  
 I, with an eye  
 That pierced high,  
 Did thus of truth's prosperity declare.

After we had been discharged at the assizes; I returned to Isaac Penington's family at Bottrel's in Chalfont; and, as I remember, Morgan Watkins with me; leaving Isaac Penington a prisoner in Alesbury gaol.

The lodgings we had in this farm-house (Bottrel's) proving too strait and inconvenient

for the family, I took larger and better lodgings for them in Berrie-house, at Amersham; whither we went at the time called Michaelmas, having spent the summer at the other place.

1667. Some time after, was that memorable meeting, appointed to be holden at London, through a divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox; for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.

This man came pretty early among Friends, and too early took upon him the ministerial office; and being, though little in person, yet great in opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and convert the Pope: in order whereunto, he (having a better man than himself, John Luff, to accompany him) travelled to Rome, where they had not been long, ere they were taken up and clapped into prison; Luff, as I remember, was put in the Inquisition, and Perrot in their Bedlam, or hospital for madmen.

Luff died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of being murdered there; but Perrot lay there some time, and now and then sent over an epistle to be printed here, written in such an affected and phantastic style, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe, they had suited the place of his confinement to his condition.

After some time, through the mediation of Friends, (who hoped better of him than he

proved) with some person of note and interest there, he was released, and came back for England. And the report of his great sufferings there, (far greater in report than in reality) joined with a singular shew of sanctity, so far opened the hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends towards him, that it gave him the advantage of insinuating himself into their affections and esteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well public as private, unless they had an immediate motion at that time to put it off.

Now although I had not the least acquaintance with this man, not having ever exchanged a word with him, though I knew him by sight; nor had I any esteem of him, for (either his natural parts or ministerial gift, but rather a dislike of his aspect, preaching and way of writing; yet this error of his being broached in the time of my infancy, and weakness of judgment as to truth, (while I lived privately in London, and had little converse with Friends) I, amongst the many who were caught in that snare, was taken with the notion, as what then seemed to my weak understanding, suitable to the doctrine of a spiritual dispensation. And the matter coming to warm debates, both in words and writing, I, in a misguided zeal, was ready to have entered the lists of contention about it; not then seeing what spirit it proceeded from, and was managed by; nor foreseeing the dis-

order and confusion in worship which must naturally attend it.

But as I had no evil intention or sinister end in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by the specious pretence and shew of greater spirituality, the Lord, in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work, and drew me off from the practice of it, and to bear testimony against it, as occasion offered.

But when that solemn meeting was appointed at London, for a travel in spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again, my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it; as did many more of both city and country; and with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoing, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a distance in this nation, as well as beyond the seas, upon notice given of that meeting, and the intended service of it, did the like by writing, in letters directed to, and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpose was continued many days.

Thus, in the motion of life, were the healing waters stirred; and many through the virtuous power thereof, restored to soundness; and indeed not many lost. And though most of these who thus returned, were such as

with myself, had before renounced the error, and forsaken the practice ; yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing (in case of public scandal) was not sufficient ; but that an open acknowledgment, of open offences, as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining complete remission.

Not long after this, George Fox was moved of the Lord to travel through the countries, from county to county, to advise and encourage Friends to set up monthly and quarterly meetings, for the better ordering the affairs of the church, in taking care of the poor, and exercising a true gospel-discipline, for a due dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our name, and to see that such as should marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that respect.

1668. When he came into this county, I was one of the many Friends that were with him, at the meeting for that purpose. And afterwards I travelled with Guli and her maid into the west of England to meet him there, and to visit Friends in those parts ; and we went as far as Topsham in Devonshire, before we found him. He had been in Cornwall, and was then returning, and came in unexpectedly at Topsham, where we then were providing, if he had not then come thither, to have gone that day towards Cornwall. But after he was come to us, we turned back with him through Devonshire, Somersetshire and Dorsetshire ; having generally very good meetings where he

was : and the work he was chiefly concerned in went on very prosperously and well, without any opposition or dislike, save that in the general meeting of Friends in Dorsetshire, a quarrelsome man, who had gone out from Friends in John Perrot's business, and had not come rightly in again, but continued in the practice of keeping on his hat in time of prayer, to the great trouble and offence of Friends, began to cavil, and raise disputes, which occasioned some interruption and disturbance.

Not only George, and Alexander Parker (who was with him) but divers of the ancient Friends of that country, endeavoured to quiet that troublesome man, and make him sensible of his error ; but his unruly spirit would still be opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that practice. This brought a great weight and exercise upon me, who sat at a distance in the outward part of the meeting, and after I had for some time bore the burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining power of the Lord, and in great tenderness of spirit, declared unto the meeting, and to that person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect ; how I had been betrayed into that wrong practice, how strong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciously pleased to shew me the evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young man, a stranger, and one who had not inter-



meddled with the business of the meeting, had that effect upon the caviller, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still; without giving any further disturbance to the meeting. And the Friends were well pleased with this unlooked-for testimony from me; and I was glad that I had that opportunity to confess to the truth, and to acknowledge once more in so public a manner, the mercy and goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this journey, the summer was pretty far gone, and the following winter I spent with the children of the family as before, without any remarkable alteration in my circumstances, until the next spring, when I found in myself a disposition of mind to change my single life for a married state.

1669. I had always entertained so high a regard for marriage, as it was a divine institution; that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of political trade to rise in the world by. And therefore as I could not but, in my judgment, blame such as I found made it their business to hunt after, and endeavour to gain those who were accounted great fortunes; not so much regarding what she is, as what she has, but making wealth the chief, if not the only thing they aimed at; so I resolved to avoid in my own practice, that course; and how much soever my condition might have prompted me as well as others, to seek advantage that way,

never to engage on the account of riches, nor at all to marry, till judicious affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my breast.

The object of this affection was a Friend whose name was Mary Ellis, whom for divers years I had had an acquaintance with, in the way of common friendship only, and in whom I thought I then saw those fair prints of truth and solid virtue, which I afterwards found in a sublime degree in her; but what her condition in the world was, as to estate, I was wholly a stranger to, nor desired to know.

I had once, a year or two before, had an opportunity to do her a small piece of service, which she wanted some assistance in; wherein I acted with all sincerity and freedom of mind, not expecting, or desiring any advantage by her, or reward from her; being very well satisfied in the act itself, that I had served a friend, and helped the helpless.

That little intercourse of common kindness between us ended, without the least thought (I am verily persuaded on her part; well-assured on my own) of any other or further relation, than that of free and fair friendship: nor did it at that time, lead us into any closer conversation, or more intimate acquaintance one with the other, than had been before.

But some time (and that a good while) after, I found my heart secretly drawn, and in-

elling towards her; yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory settlement of mind therein, before I made any step thereto.

After some time, I took an opportunity to open my mind therein, unto my much honoured friends, Isaac and Mary Penington, who then stood *parentum loco*, in the place or stead of parents to me. They having solemnly weighed the matter, expressed their unity therewith: and indeed their approbation thereof was no small confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further deliberation, often retiring in spirit to the Lord, and crying to him for direction, before I addressed myself to her. At length, as I was sitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for counsel and guidance in this, in itself, and to me so important affair, I felt a word sweetly rise in me, as if I had heard a voice, which said, Go and prevail. And faith springing in my heart with the word, I immediately arose and went, nothing doubting.

When I was come to her lodgings, (which were about a mile from me) her maid told me she was in her chamber, for having been under some indisposition of body, which had obliged her to keep her chamber, she had not yet left it. Wherefore I desired the maid to acquaint her mistress, that I was come to give her a visit; whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common conversation, feeling my spirit

weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my mind unto her, with respect to the particular business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great surprisal to her, for she had taken in an apprehension (as others also had) that mine eye had been fixed elsewhere nearer home.

I used not many words to her; a divine power went along with me, and fixed the matter express and fast in her breast, that (as she afterwards acknowledged to me) she could not shut it out.

I made at that time but a short visit. For having told her I did not expect an answer from her now; but that she would, in the most solemn manner, within the time the proposal made, and in due time give me such an answer thereunto, as the Lord should give her: I took my leave of her, and departed; leaving the issue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up about two weeks time. Wherefore, the day before I was to set out, I went to visit her again; to acquaint her with my journey, and excuse my absence: not yet pressing her for an answer; but assuring her, that I felt in myself an increase of affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, myself, and the concern between us. And indeed, I found at my return, that I could not have

left it in a better hand ; for the Lord had been my advocate in my absence, and had so far answered all her objections, that when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them, than urged them.

From that time forwards we entertained each other with affectionate kindness in order to marriage ; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of courtship, by making frequent and rich presents : not only for that my outward condition would not comport with the expense, but because I liked not to obtain by such means, but preferred an unbribed affection.

While this affair stood thus with me, I had occasion to take another journey into Kent and Sussex ; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular accident which befel me on the way.

The occasion of this journey was this. Mary Penington's daughter Guli intending to go to her uncle Springett's in Sussex, and from thence amongst her tenants, her mother desired me to accompany her, and assist her in her business with her tenants.

We tarried at London the first night, and set out next morning on the Tunbridge-road ; and Seven-Oak lying in our way, we put in there to bait ; but truly, we had much ado to get either provisions or room for ourselves or our horses ; the house was so filled with guests, and those not of the better sort. For

the duke of York being, as we were told, on the road that day for the Wells, divers of his guards, and the meaner sort of his retinue, had near filled all the inns there.

I left John Gigger, who waited on Guli in this journey, and was afterwards her menial servant, to take care for the horses, while I did the like, as well as I could for her. I got a little room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what relief the kitchen would afford us, and with much ado, by praying hard, and paying dear, I got a small joint of meat from the spit; which served rather to stay, than satisfy our stomachs, for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short repast, being weary of our quarters, we quickly mounted, and took the road again; willing to hasten from a place where we found nothing but rudeness; for the Roysters, who at that time swarmed there, besides the damning oaths they belched out at one another, looked very sourly on us, as if they grudged us both the horses we rode, and the clothes we wore.

A knot of these soon followed us, designing (as we afterwards found) to put an abuse upon us, and make themselves sport with us. We had a spot of fine, smooth, sandy way, where on the horses trod so softly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding abreast with Guli, and discoursing with her; when on a sudden, hearing a little noise, and turning mine eye that way, I saw an horseman coming up on the further

side of her horse, having his left arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the waist, and pluck her off backwards from her own horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my stick between him and her, and bid him stand off, and at the same time reining my horse to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him ; and being better mounted than he, my horse run him off. But his horse being, though weaker than mine, yet nimble, he slipt by me and got up to her on the near side, endeavouring to offer abuse to her ; to prevent which, I thrust in upon him again, and in our jostling, we drove her horse quite out of the way, and almost into the next hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a noise of loud laughter behind us ; and turning my head that way, I saw three or four horse-men more, who could scarce sit their horses for laughing, to see the sport their companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a plot laid ; and that this rude fellow was not to be dallied with ; wherefore I bestirred myself the more to keep him off, admonishing him to take warning in time, and give over his abusiveness, lest he repented too late. He had in his hand a short thick truncheon, which he held up at me ; on which laying hold with a strong gripe, I suddenly wrenched it out of his hand, and threw it at as far a distance behind as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his truncheon, I called up honest John Gigger; who was indeed a right honest man, and of a temper so thoroughly peaceable, that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I roused him, and bid him ride so close up to his mistress's horse, on the further side, that no horse might thrust in between, and I would endeavour to guard the near side. But he, good man, not thinking it, perhaps, decent enough for him to ride so near his mistress; left room enough for another to ride between. And indeed, so soon as our brute had recovered his truncheon, he came up directly thither; and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopt in upon him and kept him at a bay.

I then told him I had hitherto spared him, but wished him not to provoke me further. This I spake with such a tone, as bespoke an high resentment of the abuse put upon us; and withal pressed so close upon him with my horse, that I suffered him not to come up any more to Guli.

This his companions, who kept an equal distance behind us, both heard and saw; and thereupon two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my hands full; but Providence turned it otherwise; for they seeing the contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us; which they did by taking him away, one of them leading his horse by the bridle, and



the other driving him on with his whip, and so carried him off.

One of their company staid yet behind. And it so happening, that a great shower just then fell, we betook ourselves for shelter to a thick and well-spread oak, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other person who wore the duke's livery; and while we put on our defensive garments against the weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity to discourse with me about the man that had been so rude to us; endeavouring to excuse him, by alleging that he had drank a little too liberally. I let him know, that one vice would not excuse another; that although but one of them was actually concerned in the abuse, yet both he and the rest of them, were abettors of it, and accessories to it; that I was not ignorant whose livery they wore, and was well assured their lord would not maintain them in committing such outrages upon travellers on the road, to our injury, and his dishonour; that I understood the duke was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an account for this rude action.

He then begged hard that we would pass by the offence, and make no complaint to their lord, for he knew, he said, the duke would be very severe; and it would be the utter ruin of the young man. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect favour: and when we had fitted ourselves for the weather, we followed after our own pace.

When we came to Tunbridge, I set John Gigger foremost, bidding him lead on briskly, through the town; and placing Guli in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both observe and interpose, if any fresh abuse should have been offered her. We were expected, I perceived; for, though it rained very hard, the street was thronged with men, who looked very earnestly on us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to ride beyond Tunbridge, and beyond the Wells, in by-ways, among the woods, and were the later for the hinderance we had had on the way. And when being come to Harbart Springett's house, Guli acquainted her uncle what danger and trouble she had gone through on the way; he resented it so high, that he would have had the persons prosecuted for it. But, since Providence had interposed, and so well preserved and delivered her, she chose to pass by the offence.

When Guli had finished the business she went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad mother. From that time forward, I continued my visits to my best beloved friend, until we married; which was on the 28th day of the 8th month, called October, in the year 1669. We took each other in a select meeting, of the ancient and grave Friends of that country, holden in a Friend's house, where, in those times, not only the monthly meeting for business, but the public meeting

for worship was sometimes kept. A very solemn meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of spirit we were; in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us, and joining us, the sense whereof remained with us all our life time; and was of good service, and very comfortable to us on all occasions.

My next care after marriage, was to secure to my wife what money she had, and with herself, bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable crime in me, and savour of the highest ingratitude, if I, though but through negligence, should leave room for my father in case I should be taken away suddenly, to break in upon her estate; and deprive her of any part of that which had been, and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first opportunity, as I remember, the very next day, and before I knew particularly what she had, I made my will; and thereby secured to her whatever I was possessed of, as well all that which she brought either in money, or in goods, as that little which I had before I married her: which indeed was but little, yet more, by all that little than I had ever given her ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been advised by some of her relations, to secure before marriage, some part at least, of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from some tincture of self-interest in the proposer, was not in itself, the worst of counsel. But the worthiness of her mind,

and the sense of the ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any suspicion of me ; and this laid on me the greater obligation in point of gratitude, as well as of justice, to regard and secure her, which I did.

I had not been long married, before I was solicited by my dear friends Isaac and Mary Penington, and her daughter Guli, to take a journey into Kent and Sussex, to account with their tenants, and overlook their estates in those countries, which before I was married I had had the care of ; and accordingly the journey I undertook, though in the depth of winter.

My travels into those parts were the more irksome to me, from the solitariness I underwent, and want of suitable society. For my business lying among the tenants, who were a rustic sort of people, of various persuasions and humours, but not Friends. I had little opportunity of conversing with Friends, though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, especially on the first day of the week.

But that which made my present journey more heavy to me, was a sorrowful exercise which was newly fallen upon me from my father, harder to be borne than any I had ever met with before.

He had, upon my first acquainting him with my inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the match, and voluntarily offered, without my either asking or

expecting, to give me a handsome portion at present, with assurance of an addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this offer to me in private, but came down from London into the country, on purpose to be better acquainted with my friend; and did there make the same proposal to her; offering also to give security to any friend or relation of hers, for the performance. Which offer she most generously declined; leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were married, notwithstanding such his promise, he wholly declined the performance of it, under pretence of our not being married by the priest and liturgy. This usage and evil treatment of us thereupon, was a great trouble to me; and when I endeavoured to soften him in the matter, he forbid me speaking to him of it any more; and removed his lodging that I might not find him.

The grief I conceived on this occasion, was not for any disappointment to myself, or to my wife; for neither she nor I had any strict, or necessary dependence upon that promise: but my grief was partly for the cause assigned by him, as the ground of it; which was, that our marriage was not by priest or liturgy, and partly for that his lower circumstances in the world, might probably tempt him to find some such, though unwarrantable excuse to avoid performing his promise.

And surely hard would it have been for my spirit to have borne up under the weight of this

exercise, had not the Lord been exceeding gracions to me, and supported me with the inflowings of his love and life, wherewith he visited my soul in my travail. The sense whereof raised in my heart a thankful remembrance of his manifold kindnesses, in his former dealings with me. And in the evening, when I came to my inn, while supper was getting ready, I took my pen and put into words, what had in the day revolved in my thoughts.\*

Having finished my business in Kent, I struck off into Sussex; and finding the enemy endeavouring still more strongly to beset me, I betook myself to the Lord for safety, in whom I knew all help and strength was.

As soon as I had dispatched the business I went about, I returned home without delay; and to my great comfort found my wife well, and myself very welcome to her; both which I esteemed as great favours.

1670. Towards the latter part of the summer following, I went into Kent again, and in my passage through London, received the unwelcome news of the loss of a very hopeful youth, who had formerly been under my care for education. It was Isaac Penington, the second son of my worthy friends Isaac and Mary Penington, a child of excellent natural parts; whose great abilities bespoke him likely to be a great man, had he lived to be a man.

\* See No. 9 of the Appendix.

He was designed to be bred a merchant; and before he was thought ripe enough to be entered thereunto, his parents, at somebody's request, gave leave that he might go a voyage to Barbados, only to spend a little time, see the place, and be somewhat acquainted with the sea, under the care and conduct of a choice Friend and sailor, John Grove of London, who was master of a vessel, and traded to that island; and a little venture he had with him, made up by divers of his friends, and by me among the rest. He made the voyage thither very well, found the watery element agreeable, had his health there, liked the place, was much pleased with his entertainment there, and was returning home with his little cargo, in return for the goods he carried out, when on a sudden, through unwariness, he dropped overboard; and the vessel being under sail with a brisk gale, was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost labour, care and diligence, of the master and sailors, to have saved him.

This unhappy accident, took from the afflicted master all the pleasure of his voyage; and he mourned for the loss of this youth as if it had been his own, yea, only son: for as he was in himself a man of a worthy mind, so the boy, by his witty and handsome behaviour in general, and respectful carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his favour.

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As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest strokes I had met with; for I both loved the child very well, and had conceived great hopes of general good from him; and it pierced me the deeper, to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted parents.

Sorrow for this disaster was my companion in this journey, and I travelled the roads under great exercise of mind, revolving in my thoughts the manifold accidents which the life of man was attended with, and subject to, and the great uncertainty of all human things; I could find no centre, no firm basis for the mind of man to fix upon, but the divine power and will of the Almighty. This consideration wrought in my spirit a sort of contempt, of what supposed happiness or pleasure this world, or the things that are in and of it, can of themselves yield; and raised my contemplation higher; which, as it ripened, and came to some degree of digestion, I breathed forth in mournful accents.

A copy of the lines inclosed in a letter of condolence, I sent by the first post into Buckinghamshire, to my dear friends the afflicted parents; and upon my return home going to visit them, we sat down, and solemnly mixed our sorrows and tears together.

About this time, (as I remember) it was that some bickerings happening between some Baptists, and some of the people called Quakers,

\* See No. 10 of the Appendix.



kers, in or about High-Wiccomb in Buckinghamshire; occasioned by some reflecting words a Baptist preacher had publicly uttered in one of their meetings there, against the Quakers in general, and William Penn in particular: it came at length to this issue, that a meeting for a public dispute was appointed, to be holden at West-Wiccomb, between Jeremy Ives (who espoused his brother's cause) and William Penn.

To this meeting, it being so near me, I went, rather to countenance the cause, than for any delight I took in such work; for indeed, I have rarely found the advantage equivalent to the trouble and danger arising from those contests. For which cause I would not choose them, as being justly engaged I would not refuse them.

The issue of this proved better than I expected. For Ives having undertaken an ill cause, to argue against the divine light and universal grace, conferred by God on all men, when he had spent his stock of arguments which he brought with him on that subject; finding his work go on heavily, and the auditory not well satisfied, stepped down from his seat and departed, with purpose to have broken up the assembly. But, except some few of his party who followed him, the people generally stayed, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them. Which Ives understanding, came in again, and in an angry railing manner, expressing his dis-

like that we went not all away when he did, gave more disgust to the people.

After the meeting was ended, I sent to my friend Isaac Penington (by his son and servant who returned home, though it was late, that evening) a short account of the business in the following distich.

*Prævaluit veritas ; inimici terga, dedere :*

*Nos sumus in tuto ; laus tribuendū Deo.*

Which may be thus Englished:

Truth hath prevailed ; the enemies did fly :

We are in safety ; praise to God on high.

But both they and we had quickly other work found us : it soon became a stormy time. The clouds had been long gathering, and threatened a tempest. The parliament had sat some time before, and hatched that unaccountable law, which was called *The Conventicle Act*, (if that may be allowed to be called a law, by whomsoever made) which was so directly contrary to the fundamental laws of England, to common justice, equity, and right reason, as this manifestly was. For,

1. It brake down and overrun the bounds and banks, anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties and properties, viz. trial by juries. Instead thereof, directing and authorizing justices of the peace, and that too privately out of sessions, to convict, fine, and by their warrants, distrain upon offenders against it ; directly contrary to the great Charter.

2. By that act, the informers, who swear for their own advantage, as being thereby entitled to a third part of the fines, were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private trade; so that men might be, and often were convicted and fined, without having any notice or knowledge of it, till the officers came and took away their goods, nor even then could they tell by whose evidence they were convicted. Than which, what could be more opposite to common justice? which requires that every man should be openly charged, and have his accuser face to face; that he might both answer for himself before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given against him.

3. By that act, the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of these assemblies, which by that act was adjudged unlawful, the fine was levied on the goods of the husband or father of such wife or child, though he was neither present at such assembly, nor was of the same religious persuasion that they were of, but perhaps an enemy to it.

4. It was left in the arbitrary pleasure of the justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where such assembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of such, and so many of the meeters as they should account poor, upon any other or others of the people, who were present

at the same meeting (not exceeding a certain limited sum,) without any regard to equity or reason. And yet, such blindness doth the spirit of persecution bring on men, otherwise sharp sighted enough, that this unlawful; unjust, unequal, unreasonable and unrighteous law, took place in almost all places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the meetings of dissenters in general; though the brunt of the storm fell most sharply on the people called Quakers, not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they stood more fair, steady and open, as a butt to receive all the shot that came, while some others found means, and freedom to retire to coverts for shelter.

No sooner had the bishops obtained this law, for suppressing all other meetings but their own, but some of the clergy of most ranks, and some others too, who were over-much bigotted to that party, bestirred themselves with might and main, to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers, and to get such persons into parochial offices, as would be most obsequious to their commands, and ready at their beck, to put it into the most rigorous execution. Yet it took not alike in all places; but some were forwarder in the work than others, according as the agents intended to be chiefly employed therein, had been predisposed thereunto.

For in some parts of the nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest rank;

to choose out some particular persons, men of sharp wit, close countenances, pliant tempers and deep dissimulation, and send them forth among the sectaries, so called; with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all, or any sort of religious profession, Proteus-like change their shapes, and transform themselves from one religious appearance to another, as occasion should require. In a word, to be all things to all; not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, at least many.

The drift of this design was, that they who employed them, might by this means get a full account what number of dissenter's meetings, of every sort, there were in each county, and where kept; what number of persons frequented them, and of what ranks; who amongst them were persons of estate, and where they lived; that when they should afterwards have troubled the waters, they might the better know where, with most advantage, to cast their nets.

He, of these emissaries, whose post was assigned him in this county of Bucks, adventured to thrust himself upon a Friend, under the counterfeit appearance of a Quaker; but being by the Friend suspected, and thereupon dismissed unentertained, he was forced to betake himself to an inn or alehouse for accommodation. Long he had not been there, ere his unruly nature, not to be long kept under by the curb of a feigned sobriety, broke forth into

open prophecies: so true is that of the poet,

Naturam expellas furca flect, usq; recurret.

To fuddling now falls he with those whom he found tippling there before; and who but he amongst them! In him was then made good the proverb, *In vino veritas*; for in his cups he put out with that, which was, no doubt, to have been kept a secret. It was to his pot-companions, that after his head was somewhat heated with strong liquors, he discovered that he was sent forth by Dr. Mew, the then vice-chancellor of Oxford, on the design before related, and under the protection of justice Morton, a warrant under whose hand and seal he there produced.

- Sensible of his error too late, when sleep had restored him to some degree of sense, and discouraged with this ill success of his attempt upon the Quakers, he quickly left that place; and crossing through the country, cast himself among the Baptists, at a meeting which they held in a private place; of which the over-easy credulity of some that went among them, whom he had craftily insinuated himself into, had given him notice. The entertainment he found amongst them, deserved a better return than he made them. For, having smoothly wrought himself into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary openness and freedom of conversation with him, upon the displeasing subject of the sever-

city of those times, he most villainously impeached one of them, whose name was ~~Headach~~ Headach, (a man well reputed amongst his neighbours,) of having spoken treasonable words, and thereby brought the man in danger of losing both his estate and life; had not a seasonable discovery of his abominable practices elsewhere, imprinting terror, the effect of guilt upon him, caused him to fly both out of the court and country; at that very instant of time, when the honest man stood at the bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false accusation.

This his false charge against that Baptist, left him no further room to play the hypocrite in those parts. Off therefore go his cloak and vizor. And now he openly appears, in his proper colours, to disturb the assemblies of God's people; which was indeed the very end for which the design at first was laid.

But because the law provided, That a conviction must be grounded upon the oaths of two witnesses, it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended mischief, to find out an associate, who might be both sordid enough for such an employment, and vicious enough to be his companion.

This was not an easy task, yet he found out one, who had already given an experiment of his readiness to take other men's goods; being not long before released out of Alesbury gaol, where he very narrowly escaped the gallows, for having stolen a cow.

The names of these fellows being yet unknown in that part of the country where they began their work, the former by the general voice of the country was called the Trepan; the latter the Informer; and from the colour of his hair, Red-head. But in a little time the Trepan called himself John Pouker, adding withal, that judge Morton used to call him John for the king; and that the archbishop of Canterbury had given him a deaconry. That his name was indeed John Poulter, the reputed son of one ——— Poulter, a butcher in Salisbury, and that he had long since been there branded for a fellow egregiously wicked and debauched, we were assured by the testimony of a young man then living in Amersham, who both was his countryman and had known him in Salisbury, as well as by a letter from an inhabitant of that place, to whom his course of life had been well known.

His comrade, who for some time was only called the Informer, was named Ralph Lacy of Risborough, and sirnamed the Cow-stealer.

These agreed between themselves where to make their first onset, which was to be, and was, on the meeting of the people called Quakers, then holden at the house of William Russell, called Jourden's, in the parish of Giles-Chalfont, in the county of Bucks; that which was wanting to their accommodation, was a place of harbour fit for such beasts of prey to lurk in; for assistance wherein, recourse was had to parson Philips; none being so ready,



none so willing, none so able to help them as he.

A friend he had in a corner, a widow-woman, not long before one of his parishioners. Her name was Anne Dell, and at that time she lived at a farm called Whites, a by-place in the parish of Beconsfield, whither she removed from Hitchindon. To her these fellows were recommended, by her old friend the parson. She with all readiness, received them; her house was at all times open to them; what she had was at their command.

Two sons she had at home with her, both at man's estate; to the eldest of which her maid servant, not long before, had laid a bastard; which infamy to smother up, proved expensive to them. The younger son, whose name was John Dell, hoping by the pillage of his honest neighbours, to regain what the incontinency of his lustful brother had mispent, listed himself in the service of his mother's new guests, to attend on them as their guide, and to inform them, (who were too much strangers to pretend to know the names of any of the persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus consorted, thus in a triple league confederated, on the 24th day of the fifth month, commonly called July, in the year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to act their intended tragedy upon the Quakers' meeting, at the place aforesaid; to which I belonged, and at which I was present. Here the chief actor, Poulter, behaved himself with such impetuous

violence and brutish rudeness, as gave occasion for enquiry, who, or what he was. And being soon discovered to be the Trepan, so infamous and abhorred by all sober people, and afterwards daily detected of gross impieties, and even capital crimes, such as christening (so the common term is) of a cat in contempt of that practice which is used by many upon children, naming it Catharine-Catherina, in derision of the then Queen; and the felonious taking of certain goods from one of Brainford, whom also he cheated of money. These things raising an out-cry in the country upon him, made him consult his own safety; and leaving his part to be acted by others, quitted the country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his place, by sending one Richard Aris, a broken iron-monger, of Wiccomb, to join with Lacy in this service; prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken fortunes.

Of this new adventurer, this single character may serve, whereby the reader may make judgment of him, as of the lion by his paw; that at the sessions holden at Wiccomb, in October then last past, he was openly accused of having enticed one Harding, of the same town, to be his companion and associate in robbing on the highway, and proof offered to be given, that he had made bullets in order to that service; which charge, Harding himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that heinous wickedness, was ready in court to

prove upon oath, had not the prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

Lacy, the cow-stealer, having thus got Aris (the intended highwayman) to be his comrade, they came, on the twenty-first of the month called August, 1670, to the meeting of the people called Quakers, where Lacy, with Poulter, had been a month before; and taking for granted that the same who had been there before, were there then, they went to a justice of the peace called Sir Thomas Clayton, and swore at all adventure, against one Thomas Zachary and his wife, (whom Lacy understood to have been there the month before) that they were then present in that meeting: whereas, neither the said Thomas Zachary nor his wife were at that meeting; but were both of them at London, above twenty miles distant, all that day; having been there sometime before and after. Which notwithstanding, upon this false oath of these false men, the justice laid fines upon the said Thomas Zachary, of ten pounds for his own offence, ten pounds for his wife's, and ten pounds for the offence of a pretended preacher, though indeed there was not any that preached at that meeting that day; and issued forth his warrant to the officers of Beconsfield, where Thomas Zachary dwelt, for the levying of the same upon his goods.

I mention these things thus particularly, though not an immediate suffering of my own,

because, in the consequence thereof, it occasioned no small trouble and exercise to me.

For when Thomas Zachary, returning home from London, understanding what had been done against him; and advising what to do, was informed by a neighbouring attorney that his remedy lay in appealing from the judgment of the convicting justice, to the general quarter sessions of the peace: he thereupon ordering the said attorney to draw up his appeal in form of law, went himself with it, and tendered it to the justice. But the justice being a man neither well principled, nor well natured, and uneasy that he should lose the advantage both of the present conviction, and future service of such (in his judgment) useful men, as those two bold informers were likely to be, fell sharply upon Thomas Zachary, charging him that he suffered justly, and that his suffering was not on a religious account.

This rough and unjust dealing engaged the good man to enter into further discourse with the justice, in defence of his own innocence. From which discourse the insidious justice taking offence at some expression of his, charged him with saying, The righteous are oppressed, and the wicked go unpunished. Which the justice interpreting to be a reflection on the government, and calling it a high misdemeanour, required sureties of the good man to answer it at the next quarter-sessions, and in the mean time, to be bound to his good behaviour: but he, well knowing himself to be in-

nocent of having broken any law, or done in this matter any evil, could not answer the justice's unjust demand, and therefore was sent forthwith a prisoner to the county gaol.

By this severity it was thought the justice designed not only to wreak his displeasure on this good man, but to prevent the further prosecution of his appeal: whereby he should at once both oppress the righteous, by the levying of the fines unduly imposed upon him, and secure the informers from a conviction of wilful perjury, and the punishment due therefor, that so they might go on without control, in the wicked work they were engaged in.

But so great wickedness was not to be suffered to go unpunished, or at least undiscovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at present to get the good man released from his unjust imprisonment, yet that his restraint might not hinder the prosecution of his appeal, on which the detection of the informer's villany depended; consideration being had thereof amongst some Friends, the management of the prosecution was committed to my care, who was thought, with respect at least to leisure, and disengagement from other business, most fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore, at the next general quarter-sessions of the peace, holden at High-Wiccomb, in October following, I took care that four substantial witnesses, citizens of unques-

tionable credit, should come down from London, in a coach and four horses, hired on purpose.

These gave so punctual and full evidence, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were in London all that day, whereon the informers had sworn them to have been at an unlawful meeting, at a place more than twenty miles distant from London, that notwithstanding what endeavours were used to the contrary, the jury found them not guilty. Whereupon the money deposited for the fines, at the entering of the appeal, ought to have been returned; and so was ten pounds of it; but the rest of the money being in the hand of the clerk of the peace, whose name was Wells, could never be got out again.

Thomas Zachary himself was brought from Alesbury gaol to Wiccomb, to receive his trial; and though no evil could be charged upon him, yet justice Clayton, who at first committed him, displeased to see the appeal prosecuted, and the conviction he had made set aside, by importunity prevailed with the bench to remand him to prison again, there to lie until another session.

While this was doing, I got an indictment drawn up against the informers, Aris and Laey; for wilful perjury; and caused it to be delivered to the grand jury; who found the bill. And although the court adjourned from the town-hall to the chamber at their inn, in favour, as it was thought to the informers, on supposition we would not pursue them thither, yet

thither they were pursued; and there being two counsellors present from Windsor, (the name of one was Starkey, and of the other, as I remember, Forster; the former of which I had before retained upon the trial of the appeal.) I now retained them both, and sent them into court again, to prosecute the informers upon this indictment; which they did so smartly, that the informers (being present, as not suspecting any such sudden danger) were of necessity called to the bar, and arraigned; and having pleaded not guilty: were forced to enter a traverse, to avoid a present commitment. All the favour the court could shew them, being to take them bail one for the other, (though probably both not worth a groat) else they must have gone to gaol for want of bail, which would have put them beside their business, spoiled the informing trade, and broke the design; whereas, now they were turned loose again, to do what mischief they could until the next session.

Accordingly they did what they could, and yet could make little or no earnings at it; for this little step of prosecution had made them so known, and their late apparent perjury had made them so detestable, that even the common sort of bad men shunned them, and would not willingly yield them any assistance.

The next quarter-sessions was holden at Aylesbury, whither we were fain to bring down our witnesses again from London, in like manner, and at like charge, at the least, as before.

And though I met with great discouragements in the prosecution, yet I followed it so vigorously, that I got a verdict against the informers for wilful perjury, and had forthwith taken them up, had they not fled from justice, and hid themselves. However, I moved by my Attorney for an order of court, directed to all mayors, bailiffs, high constables, petty constables, and other inferior officers of the peace, to arrest and take them up, wherever they should be found within the county of Bucks, and bring them to the county gaol.

The report of this so terrified them, that of all things dreading the misery of lying in a gaol; out of which they could not hope for deliverance; otherwise than by at least, the loss of their ears, they, hopeless now of carrying on their informing trade, disjoined; and one of them, Aris, fled the country; so that, whatever gallows caught him, he appeared no more in this country. The other, Lacy, lurked privately for awhile, in woods and by-places, till hunger and want forced him out; and then casting himself upon an hazardous adventure which yet was the best, and proved to him the best course he could have taken, he went directly to the gaol, where he knew the innocent man suffered imprisonment by his means; and for his sake; where asking for, and being brought to Thomas Zachary, he cast himself on his knees at his feet, and with appearance of sorrow, confessing his fault, did so earnestly beg for forgiveness, that he wrought upon the



tender nature of that very good man; not only to put him in hopes of mercy, but to be his advocate by letter to me; to mitigate; at least, if not wholly to remit the prosecution. To which I so far only consented, as to let him know, I would suspend the execution of the warrant upon him, according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh provocation. At which message the fellow was so overjoyed, that relying with confidence thereon, he returned openly to his family and labour, and applied himself to business (as his neighbours observed and reported) with greater diligence and industry, than he had ever done before.

Thus began, and thus ended, the informing-trade, in these parts of the county of Bucks; the ill-success that these first informers found, discouraging all others, how vile soever, from attempting the like enterprise there ever after. And though it cost some money to carry on the prosecution, and some pains too, yet, for every shilling so spent, a pound probably might be saved, of what in all likelihood would have been lost; by the spoil and havock that might have been made, by distresses taken on their informations.

But so angry was the convicting justice, whatever others of the same rank were, at this prosecution, and the loss thereby of the service of those *honest men*, the perjured informers. For as I heard an attorney, one Hitchcock of Alesbury, who was their advocate in court, say, A great lord, a peer of the realm, called them

so, in a letter directed to him ; whereby he recommended to him the care and defence of them and their cause; that he prevailed to have the oath of allegiance tendered in court to Thomas Zachary ; which he knew he would not take, because he could not take any oath at all ; by which snare he was kept in prison a long time after, and so far as I remember, until a general pardon released him.

But though it pleased the Divine Providence which sometimes vouchsafeth to bring good out of evil, to put a stop, in a great measure at least, to the prosecution here begun ; yet in other parts, both of the city and country, it was carried on with very great severity and rigour ; the worst of men, for the most part, being set up for informers ; the worst of magistrates encouraging and abetting them ; and the worst of the priests, who first began to blow the fire, now seeing how it took, spread and blazed, clapping their hands and hallooing them on to this evil work.

The sense whereof, as it deeply affected my heart with a sympathizing pity for the oppressed sufferers, so it raised in my spirit an holy disdain, and contempt of that spirit and its agent, by which this ungodly work was stirred up and carried on. Which at length brake forth in an expostulatory poem, under the title of Gigantomachia, (the wars of the giants against heaven.) Not without some allusion to the second psalm.\*

See No. 11 of the Appendix.

1671. As the unreasonable rage and furious violence of the persecutors had drawn the former expostulation from me, so, in awhile after, my heart being deeply affected with a sense of the great loving-kindness, and tender goodness of the Lord to his people, in bearing up their spirits in their greatest exercises, and preserving them through the sharpest trials, in a faithful testimony to his blessed truth, and opening in due time a door of deliverance to them, I could not forbear to celebrate his praises in some lines.\*

1672. Scarce was the before-mentioned storm of outward persecution from the government blown over, when Satan raised another storm of another kind against us, on this occasion. The foregoing storm of persecution, as it lasted long, so in many parts of the nation, and particularly at London, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the Quakers. For they having no refuge but God alone to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the suffering, as others of other denominations could; and in their worldly wisdom and policy did; altering their meetings, with respect both to place and time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their meeting-houses. So that of the several sorts of dissenters, the Quakers only held up a public testimony, as a standard or ensign of religion, by keeping their meeting duly and fully, at the accustomed times and places, so long as they were suffered to

\* See No. 12 of the Appendix.

enjoy the use of their meeting-houses; and when they were shut up, and Friends kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets, as near to their meeting-houses as they could.

This bold and truly christian behaviour in the Quakers, disturbed and not a little displeased the persecutors; who fretting, complained that the stubborn Quakers brake their strength, and bore off the blow from those other dissenters, whom as they most feared, so they principally aimed at. For indeed, the Quakers they rather despised than feared; as being a people, from whose peaceable principles and practices, they held themselves secure from danger; whereas, having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other dissenters, they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more ingenuous amongst other dissenters, of each denomination, sensible of the ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady suffering, which abated the heat of the persecutors, and blunted the edge of the sword before it came to them, frankly acknowledged the benefit received; calling us the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them, and praying that we might be preserved, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. Nor could some of them forbear, those especially who were called Baptists, to express their kind and favourable

opinion of us, and of the principles we professed; which emboldened us to go through that, which but to hear of was a terror to them.

This their good will, raised ill will in some of their teachers against us; who, though willing to reap the advantage of a shelter, by a retreat behind us, during the time that the storm lasted, yet partly through an evil emulation, and partly through fear lest they should lose some of those members of their society, who had discovered such favourable thoughts of our principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as the storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a dress, and in as frightful a figure to the world, as they could invent and put upon us.

1673. In order whereunto, one Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists at London, took upon him to write several pamphlets successively, under the title of a Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker; which were so craftily contrived, that the unwary reader might conclude them to be, not merely fictions, but real discourses, actually held between one of the people called Quakers, and some other person. In these feigned dialogues, Hicks, having no regard to justice or common honesty, had made his counterfeit Quaker say whatsoever he thought would render him one while sufficiently erroneous, another while ridiculous enough; forging in the Quaker's name, some things so abominably false, other

things so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the conceit, much less to have dropped from the lip or pen of any that went under the name of a Quaker.

These dialogues (shall I call them, or rather diabologues) were answered by our friend William Penn, in two books; the first being entitled Reason against Railing, the other, The Counterfeit Christian detected; in which Hicks being charged with manifest, as well as manifold forgeries, perversions, downright lies and slanders against the people called Quakers in general, William Penn, George Whitehead, and divers others by name; complaint was made, by way of an appeal, to the Baptists in and about London, for justice against Thomas Hicks.

1674. Those Baptists, who it seems were in the plot with Hicks, to defame, at any rate, right or wrong, the people called Quakers, taking the advantage of the absence of William Penn and George Whitehead, who were the persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long journey on the service of truth, to be absent from the city, in all probability, for a considerable time, appointed a public meeting in one of their meeting-houses, under pretence of calling Thomas Hicks to account, and hearing the charge made good against him; but with design to give the greater stroke to the Quakers, when they, who should make good the charge against

Hicks, could not be present. For upon their sending notice to the lodgings of William Penn and George Whitehead, of their intended meeting, they were told by several Friends, that both William Penn and George Whitehead were from home, travelling in the countries, uncertain where; and therefore could not be informed of their intended meeting, either by letter or express, within the time by them limited; for which reason they were desired to defer the meeting till they could have notice of it, and time to return, that they might be at it. But these Baptists, whose design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to defer their meeting, but, glad of the advantage, gave their brother Hicks opportunity to make a colourable defence, where he had his party to help him, and none to oppose him. And having made a mock show of examining him and his works of darkness, they in fine having heard one side, acquitted him.

This gave just occasion for a new complaint, and demand of justice against him and them. For as soon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of this unfair dealing, and demanded justice, by a re-hearing of the matter in a public meeting, to be appointed by joint agreement. This went hardly down with the Baptists, nor could it be obtained from them, without great importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many delays and tricks used to shift it off,

constrained by necessity, they yielded to have a meeting at their own meeting-house, in Barbican, London.

There, amongst other Friends, was I, and undertook to read our charge there against Thomas Hicks; which, not without much difficulty, I did; they, inasmuch as the house was theirs, putting all the inconveniences they could upon us.

The particular passages and management of this meeting, as also of that other which followed soon after, (they refusing to give us any other public meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own meeting-house, by Wheeler-street, near Spittle-fields, London, and gave them timely notice of) I forbear here to mention; there being in print a narrative of each, to which, for particular information, I refer the reader.

But to this meeting Thomas Hicks would not come, but lodged himself at an ale-house hard by; yet sent his brother Ives, with some others of the party, by clamorous noises to divert us from the prosecution of our charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude behaviour of theirs was a cause of grief to me, so afterwards when I understood that they used all evasive tricks to avoid another meeting with us, and refused to do us right, my spirit was greatly stirred at their



injustice ; and in the sense thereof, willing, if possible, to have provoked them to more fair and manly dealing, I let fly a broadside at them in a single sheet of paper, under the title of a Fresh Pursuit. In which, having re-stated the controversy between them and us, and reinforced our charge of forgery, &c. against Thomas Hicks and his abettors, I offered a fair challenge to them not only to Thomas Hicks himself, but to all those his compurgators, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion Jeremy Ives, to give me a fair and public meeting; in which I would make good our charge against him, as principal, and all the rest of them as accessories. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the narrative lately published, of what had passed in the last meeting near Wheeler-street, they, to help themselves if they could, sent forth a counter account of that meeting, and of the former at Barbican, as much to the advantage of their own cause, as they, upon deliberate consideration could contrive it. This was published by Thomas Plant, a Baptist-teacher, and one of Thomas Hicks' former compurgators, and bore, but falsely, the title of a Contest for Christianity; or, a Faithful relation of two late meetings, &c.

To this I quickly wrote and published an answer, And, because I saw the design and whole drift of the Baptists was to shroud Tho-

mas Hicks from our charge of forgery, under the specious pretence of his and their standing up, and contending for christianity, I gave my book this general title, Forgery no Christianity; or a brief Examen of a late Book, &c. And having from their own book, plainly convicted that which they called a faithful relation, to be indeed a false relation, I, in an expostulatory postscript to the Baptists, reinforced our charge, and my former challenge; offering to make it good against them, before a publick and free auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in person or in print.

This was the end of that controversy, which was observed to have this issue: that what those dialogues were written to prevent, was, by the dialogues, and their unfair, unmanly, unchristian carriage, in endeavouring to defend them, hastened and brought to pass; for not a few of the Baptist members, upon this occasion, left their meetings and society, and came over to the Quakers' meetings, and were joined in fellowship with them. Thanks be to God.

Though many of the most eminent among the Baptists, in and about London, engaged themselves in this quarrel, to have defended, or at least, to have brought fairly off, if it had been possible, their brother Hicks, yet the main service lay upon Jeremy Ives. Who having been an unsuccessful trader in cheese, and therein failed more than once, had now

for some time given over that employment, and like a mercenary Switzer, undertook to be the champion for the Baptists, and to maintain their quarrels against all comers.

His name was up for a topping disputant; but indeed, on the best observation I could make of him, both now and formerly, I could not find him a clean and fair disputant. He seemed, I confess, well read in the fallacies of logic, and was indeed rather ready than true and sound in framing syllogisms. But his chief art lay in tickling the humours of rude, unlearned, and injudicious hearers; thereby insinuating himself into their good opinion, and then bantering his opponent.

1675. He lived not long after this, but his crafty, false and frothy carriage, had made some impressions on my mind, when I heard of his death.

The controversy which had been raised by those cavilling Baptists, had not been long ended, before another was raised by an Episcopal priest in Lincolnshire; who, fearing as it seemed, to lose some of his hearers, to the Quakers, wrote a book, which he miscalled a Friendly Conference between a Minister, and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism. In which he mis-stated, and greatly perverted the Quakers' principles, that he might thereby beget in his parishioners an aversion to them. And that he might abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself, sending forth his book without a name. This

This book coming to my hand, became my concern, after I had read it, and considered the evil management and worse design thereof, to answer it: which I did, in a treatise called *Truth Prevailing, and detecting Error.*" Published in the year 1676.

My answer I divided, according to the several subjects handled in the conference, into divers distinct chapters; the last of which treated of tithes.

This being the priest's Delilah, and that chapter of mine pinching them, it seems, in a tender part, the belly, they laid their heads together, and with what speed they could, sent forth a distinct reply to the last chapter of tithes in mine, under the title of the *Right of Tithes Asserted and Proved.* This also came forth without a name, yet pretended to be written by another hand.

1678. Before I had finished my rejoinder to this, came forth another, called a *Vindication of the Friendly Conference*; said to be written by the author of the feigned conference, who was not yet willing to trust the world with his name. So much of it as related to the subject I was then upon, (tithes) I took into my rejoinder to the *Right of Tithes*; which I published in the year 1678, with this title, *The Foundation of Tithes Shaken, &c.*

1680. After this, it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a reply to my last, supposed to be written by the same hand, who had before

written the *Right of Tithes Asserted, &c.* but still without a name. This latter book had more of art than argument in it. It was indeed a hash of ill-cooked crambe, set off with as much flourish as the author was master of, and swelled into bulk by many quotations; but those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied or perverted, that to a judicious and impartial reader, I durst oppose my *Foundation of Tithes Shaken*, to the utmost force that book has in it. Yet, it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leisure, I intended a full refutation thereof; and in order thereunto, had written between forty and fifty sheets; when other business more urgent intervening, took me off, and detained me from it so long, that it was then judged out of season, and so it was laid aside.

Hitherto the war I had been engaged in was in a sort foreign, with people of other religious persuasions, such as were open and avowed enemies; but now another sort of war arose, an intestine war, raised by some among ourselves; such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same profession, and would have been thought to be of us still; but having through ill-grounded jealousies let in discontents, and thereupon fallen into jangling, chiefly about church-discipline, they at length brake forth into an open schism, headed by two northern men of name and note, John Wilkinson and John Story. The latter of which, as being the most active and popular

man, having gained a considerable interest in the west, carried the controversy with him thither, and there spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.

Among those, William Rogers, a merchant of Bristol, was not the least, nor least accounted of by himself and some others. He was a bold and an active man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own parts and abilities; which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the gauntlet he should cast down. This high opinion of himself made him rather a troublesome, than formidable enemy.

That I may here step over the various steps, by which he advanced to open hostility, (as what I was not actually, or personally engaged in) he in awhile arrived to that height of folly and wickedness, that he wrote and published a large book, in five parts, to which he maliciously gave for a title, *The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator*; thereby arrogating to himself, and those who were of his party, the topping style of christian Quaker; and no less impiously, than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others, even the main body of Friends, for apostates and innovators.

1681. When this book came abroad, it was not a little (and he, for it's sake) cried up by his injudicious admirers; whose applause setting his head afloat, he came up to London at the time of the yearly-meeting then following,

and at the close thereof, gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. That if any were dissatisfied with his book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all comers.

This daring challenge was neither dreaded, nor slighted; but an answer forthwith returned in writing, signed by a few Friends, amongst whom I was one, to let him know, that as many were dissatisfied with his book and him, he should not fail, (God willing) to be met by the sixth hour next morning, at the meeting place at Devonshire-house.

Accordingly we met, and continued the meeting till noon, or after; in which time he, surrounded with those of his own party, as might abet and assist him, was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the place, and early next morning the town also; leaving in excuse for his going so abruptly off, (and thereby refusing us another meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to) this slight shift, that he had before given earnest for his passage in the stage-coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

I had before this gotten a sight of his book, and procured one for my use, on this occasion; but I had not time to read it through: but awhile after, Providence cast another of them into my hands very unexpectedly; for our dear friend George Fox, passing through this country among Friends, and lying in his journey at

my house, had one of them in his bags, which he had made some marginal notes upon. For that good man, like Julius Cæsar, willing to improve all parts of his time, did usually even in his travels, dictate to his amanuensis, what he would have committed to writing. I knew not that he had this book with him, for he had not said any thing to me of it, till going in the morning into his chamber, while he was dressing himself, I found it lying on the table by him. And understanding that he was going but for a few weeks, to visit Friends in the meetings hereabouts, and the neighbouring parts of Oxford and Berkshire, and so return through this county again, I made bold to ask him if he would favour me so much, as to leave it with me till his return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it through. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, ere, observing the many foul falsehoods, malicious slanders, gross perversions and false doctrines abounding in it, the sense thereof inflamed my breast with a just and holy indignation against the work, and that devilish spirit in which it was brought forth. Wherefore, finding my spirit raised and my understanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the book again, and reading it with pen in hand, answered it paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my friend came back, I had



gone through the greatest part of it ; and was too far engaged in spirit to think of giving over the work ; wherefore, requesting him to continue the book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the answer, which, with Friends' approbation was printed, under the title of An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers' book, miscalled the Christian Quaker, &c. This was written in the year, 1682. But no answer was given to it either by him or any other of his party ; though many others were concerned therein, and some by name, so far as I have ever heard. Perhaps there might be an hand of Providence over-ruling them therein, to give me leisure to attend some other services, which soon after fell upon me.

1682. For it being a stormy time, and persecution waxing hot, upon the conventicle-act, through the busy boldness of hungry informers, who, for their own advantage, did not only themselves hunt after religious and peaceable meetings, but drove on the officers (not only the more inferior and subordinate, but in some places, even the justices also) for fear of penalties, to hunt with them and for them. I found a pressure upon my spirit to write a small treatise, to inform such officers, how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those malapert informers, and made their drudges.

This treatise I called, A Caution to Constables and other inferior Officers, concerned in the Execution of the Conventicle-Act. With

some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice, to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c.

1683. This was thought to have some good service where it came, upon such sober and moderate officers, as well justices as constables, &c. as acted rather by constraint than choice ; by encouraging them to stand their ground, with more courage and resolution, against the insults of saucy informers.

But whatever ease it brought to others, it brought me some trouble, and had like to have brought me into more danger, had not Providence wrought my deliverance by an unexpected way.

For as soon as it came forth in print, which was in the year 1683, one William Ayrs of Watford, in Hertfordshire, a Friend, and an acquaintance of mine, who was both an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers of the gentry in those parts, and going often to some of their houses to trim them, took one of these books with him, when he went to trim Sir Benjamin Titchborn, of Rickmansworth, and presented it to him, supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over, after Ayrs was gone, and taking it by the wrong handle, entertained an evil opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the book and his thoughts upon it, to a neighbouring justice, living in Rickmansworth, whose name was Thomas Fotherly; who concurring with him in judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and prosecuted for it, as a seditious book; for a libel they could not call it, my name being to it at length.

Wherefore, sending for Ayrs, who had brought the book, justice Titchborn examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him he knew me well, and had been often at my house, he gave him in charge to give me notice, that I should appear before him and the other justice, at Rickmansworth on such a day; threatening that if I did not appear, he himself should be prosecuted for spreading the book.

This put William Ayrs in a fright. Over he came in haste with this message to me; troubled that he should be a means to bring me into trouble. But I endeavoured to give him ease, by assuring him I would not fail, with God's leave, to appear at the time and place appointed, and thereby free him from trouble or danger.

In the interim, I received advice by an express out of Sussex, that Guli Penn, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance, and firm friendship from our very youths, was very dangerously ill, her husband being then absent in Pennsylvania, and that she had a great desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great strait, and brought a sore exercise on my mind. I was divided betwixt honour and friendship. I had engaged my word to appear before the justices, which to omit, would bring dishonour on me and my profession. To stay till that time was come and past, might probably prove (if I should then be left at liberty) too late to answer her desire, and satisfy friendship.

After some little deliberation, I resolved as the best expedient to answer both ends, to go over next morning to the justices, and lay my strait before them; and try if I could procure from them a respite of my appearance before them, until I had been in Sussex, and paid the duty of friendship to my sick friend. Which I had the more hopes to obtain, because I knew those justices had a great respect for Guli. For when William Penn and she were first married, they lived for some years at Rickmansworth, in which time they contracted a neighbourly friendship with both these justices and theirs; who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the morning I rode over. But being wholly a stranger to the justices, I went first to Watford, that I might take Ayrs along with me, who supposed himself to have some interest in justice Titchborn; and when I came there, understanding that another Friend of that town, whose name was John Wells, was well acquainted with the other justice, Fotherly; having imparted to them the occa-

sion of my coming, I took them both with me, and hasted back to Rickmansworth. Where, having put our horses up at an inn, and leaving William Ayra, who was a stranger to Fotherly, there, I went with John Wells to Fotherly's house; and being brought into a fair hall, I tarried there while Wells went into the parlour to him, and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired to speak with him, brought him to me with severity in his countenance.

After he had asked me, in a tone which spoke displeasure, what I had to say to him? I told him I came to wait on him, upon an intimation given me, that he had something to say to me; he thereupon plucking my book out of his pocket, asked me if I owned myself to be the author of that book? I told him if he pleased to let me look into it, if it were mine I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my hand, when I had turned over the leaves and looked it through, finding it to be as it came from the press, I told him I wrote the book, and would own it, all but the errors of the press. Whereupon, he looking sternly on me, answered, Your own errors you should have said.

Having innocency on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his speech or looks, but feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, I know there are errors of the press in it, and therefore I excepted them; but I do not know there is any error of mine in it, and therefore

cannot except them. But, added I, if thou pleasest to shew me any error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it. And thereupon I desired him to give me an instance in any one passage in that book, wherein he thought I had erred. He said he needed not go to particulars, but charge me with the general contents of the whole book. I replied; that such a charge would be too general for me to give a particular answer to; but if he would assign me any particular passage, or sentence in the book, wherein he apprehended the ground of offence to lie, when I should have opened the terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find cause to change his mind, and entertain a better opinion, both of the book and me. And therefore I again intreated him, to let me know what particular passage or passages had given him an offence. He told me, I needed not to be in so much haste, for that I might have it timely enough, if not too soon; but this, said he, is not the day appointed for your hearing, and therefore, added he, what I pray, made you in such haste to come now? I told him I hoped he would not take it for an argument of guilt, that I came before I was sent for; and offered myself to my purgation before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker air; which had so much influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer air over his countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular occasion, which induced me to come now;

which was, that I received advice last night, by an express out of Sussex, that William Penn's wife, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance, and strict friendship, *ab ipsis ferè incunabilis*, at least, *à teneris unguiculis*, lay now there very ill; not without great danger, in the apprehension of those about her, of her life: and that she had expressed her desire that I would come to her as soon as I could; the rather, for that her husband was absent in America. That this had brought a great strait upon me, being divided between friendship and duty; willing to visit my friend in her illness, which the nature and law of friendship required, yet unwilling to omit my duty, by failing of my appearance before him and the other justice, according to their command and my promise; lest I should thereby subject, not my own reputation only, but the reputation of my religious profession, to the suspicion of guilt, and censure of willingly shunning a trial. To prevent which, I had chosen to anticipate the time, and come now; to see if I could give them satisfaction in what they had to object against me; and thereupon being dismissed, pursue my journey into Sussex; or if by them detained, to submit to Providence; and by an express, to acquaint my friend therewith, both to free her from an expectation of my coming, and myself from any imputation of neglect.

While I thus delivered myself, I observed a sensible alteration in the justice; and when I

had done speaking, he first said he was very sorry for Madam Penn's illness; of whose virtue and worth he spake very highly, yet not more than was her due; then he told me, That for her sake, he would do what he could to further my visit to her, but, said he, I am but one, and of myself can do nothing in it; therefore you must go to Sir Benjamin Tichborn, and if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it.

But I can assure you, added he, the matter which will be laid to your charge concerning your book, is of greater importance than you seem to think it. For your book has been laid before the king and council; and the earl of Bridgwater (who is one of the council) hath thereupon given us command to examine you about it, and secure you.

I wish, said I, I could speak with the earl myself; for I make no doubt but to acquit myself unto him: and added I, if thou pleasest to give me thy letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know, continued I, that he hath no favour for any of my persuasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with confidence appear before him, or even before the king in council.

Well, said he, I see you are confident, but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your intention was, you timed the publishing of your book very unluckily; for you cannot be



ignorant, that there is a very dangerous plot lately discovered, contrived by the dissenters against the government, and his majesty's life. (This was the Rye-plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians :) and for you, added he, to publish a book just at that juncture of time, to discourage the magistrates and other officers, from putting in execution those laws, which were made to suppress their meetings, looks, I must tell you, but with a scurvy countenance upon you.

If, replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter air, there was any mis-timing in the case, it must lie on the part of those plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their plot while my book was printing; for I can bring very good proof, that my book was in the press, and well nigh wrought off, before any man talked, or knew of a plot, but those who were in it.

Here our discourse ended, and I, taking for the present my leave of him, went to my horse, and changing my companion, rode to justice Tichborn's, having with me William Ayrs, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to Tichborn, I gave him a like account of the occasion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other justice. And both he and his lady, who was present, expressed much concern for Guli Penn's illness.

I found this man to be of quite another temper than justice Fotherly; for this man was smooth,

soft and oily ; whereas, the other was rather rough, severe and sharp. Yet at the winding up, I found Fotherly my truest friend.

When I had told Sir Benjamin Tichborn that I came from justice Fotherly, and requested him to give him a meeting, to consider of my business, he readily, without any hesitation, told me he would go with me to Rickmansworth (from which his house was distant about a mile ; ) and calling for his horses, mounted immediately ; and to Rickmansworth we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them ; and in the first place they examined me, what was my intention and design in writing that book. I told them, the introductory part of it, gave a plain account of it, viz. That it was to get ease from the penalties of a severe law, often executed with too great a severity, by unskillful officers, who were driven on beyond the bounds of their duty, by the impetuous threats of a sort of insolent fellows (as needy as greedy) who, for their own advantage, sought our ruin. To prevent which was the design and drift of that book ; by acquainting such officers how they might safely demean themselves, in the execution of their offices, towards their honest and peaceable neighbours, without ruining either their neighbours or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of men. And that I humbly conceived it was neither unlawful, nor unreasonable for a sufferer to do this, so

long as it was done in a fair, sober and peaceable way.

They then put me in mind of the plot; told me it was a troublesome and dangerous time, and my book might be construed to import sedition, in discouraging the officers from putting the laws in execution, as by law and by their oath they were bound. And in fine brought it to this issue, That they were directed to secure me, by a commitment to prison, until the assize, at which I should receive a further charge, than they were provided now to give me; but because they were desirous to forward my visit to Madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail; and therefore, if I would enter a recognizance, with sufficient sureties for my appearance at the next assize, they would leave me at liberty to go on my journey.

I told them I could not do it. They said they would give me as little trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek bail, but would accept those two friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my appearance.

I let them know my strait lay not in the difficulty of procuring sureties; for I did suppose myself to have sufficient acquaintance and credit in that place, if, on such an occasion I could be free to use it; but as I knew myself to be an innocent man, I had not satisfaction in myself to desire others to be bound for me, nor to enter myself into a recognizance;

that carrying in it, to my apprehension, a reflection on my innocence, and the reputation of my christian profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while ; till at length, finding me fixed in my judgment, and resolved rather to go to prison than give bail, they asked me, If I was against appearing, or only against being bound with sureties to appear. I told them I was not against appearing ; which as I could not avoid if I would, so I would not if I might, but was ready and willing to appear, if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any case of a religious nature, or wherein my christian profession was concerned, (which I took this case to be) I could not yield to give any other, or further security, than my word or promise, as a christian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that ; and asked if I would promise to appear. I answered, Yes ; with due limitations. What do you mean by due limitations ? said they ; I mean, replied I, if I am not disabled, or prevented by sickness, or imprisonment. For, added I, as you allege that it is a troublesome time, I perhaps may find it so. I may, for aught I know, be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same account for which I now stand here before you ; and if I should, how then could I appear at the assize in this county ? Oh, said they, these are due limitations, indeed ! sickness or imprisonment are lawful excuses ; and if either of these befall you, we

shall not expect your appearance here; but then you must certify us that you are so disabled by sickness or restraint.

But, said I, how shall I know, when and where I shall wait upon you again, after my return from Sussex? You need not, said they, trouble yourself about that, we will take care to give you notice of both time and place; and till you hear from us, you may dispose yourself as you please.

Well then, said I, I do promise you, that when I shall have received from you a fresh command to appear before you, I will, if the Lord permit me life, health and liberty, appear when and where you shall appoint.

It is enough, said they, we will take your word: and, desiring me to give their hearty respects and service to Madam Penn, they dismissed me with their good wishes for a good journey.

I was sensible, that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me; therefore, I could not but acknowledge to them the sense I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what haste I could, to let my wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary account of the business, I took horse again; and went so far that evening towards Worminghurst, that I got thither pretty early next morning, and to my great satisfaction, found my friend in an hopeful way towards a recovery.

I stayed some days with her ; and then finding her illness wear daily off, and some other Friends being come from London to visit her, I, mindful of my engagement to the justices, and unwilling by too long an absence to give them occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their summons, leaving those other Friends to bear her company longer, took my leave of her and them, and set my face homewards ; carrying with me the welcome account of my friend's recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily expectation of a command from the justices, to appear again before them, but none came. I spake with those Friends who had been with me, when I was before them, and they said, They had heard nothing of it from them; although they had since been in company with them. At length the assize came, but no notice was given to me, that I should appear there ; in fine, they never troubled themselves, nor me, any further about it.

Thus was a cloud that looked black, and threatened a great storm, blown gently over by a providential breath ; which I could not but with a thankful mind, acknowledge to the all-great, all-good, all-wise Disposer, in whose hand, and at whose command, the hearts of all men, even the greatest are, and who turns their counsels, disappoints their purposes, and defeats their designs and contrivances as he pleases. For if my dear friend Guli Penn had not fallen sick, if I had not

thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed. And as I afterwards understood, that was the day appointed for the appearance of a great many persons of the dissenting party, in that side of the county, who were to be taken up and secured, on the account of the afore-mentioned plot, which had been cast upon the Presbyterians. So that if I had then appeared, with and amongst them, I had, in all likelihood, been sent to gaol with them for company, and that under the imputation of a plotter; than which, nothing was more contrary to my profession and inclination.

But though I came off so easy, it fared not so well with others; for the storm increasing, many Friends in divers parts, both of city and country, suffered greatly; the sense whereof did deeply affect me; and the more, for that I observed the magistrates, not thinking the laws which had been made against us severe enough, perverted the law in order to punish us. For calling our peaceable meetings riots, (which in the legal notion of the word riot, is a contradiction in terms) they indicted our Friends as rioters for only sitting in a meeting, though nothing was there either said or done by them; and then set fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against right and justice, but even against law; and it troubled me to think that we should be made to

suffer not only by laws made directly against us, but even by laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had occasion offered, more thoroughly to consider this matter.

For a justice of the peace in this county, who was called Sir Dennis Hampson, of Taplow, breaking in with a party of horse upon a little meeting near Wooburn, in his neighbourhood, the 1st of the fifth month, 1683, sent most of the men, to the number of twenty-three, whom he found there, to Alesbury prison, though most of them were poor men, who lived by their labour; and not going himself to the next quarter-sessions at Buckingham, on the 12th of the same month, sent his clerk with direction, that they should be indicted for a riot. Whither the prisoners were carried and indicted accordingly; and being pressed by the court to traverse and give bail, they moved to be tried forthwith, but that was denied them. And they giving in writing the reason of their refusing bail and fees, were remanded to prison till next quarter-sessions; but William Woodhouse was again bailed, (as he had been before) and William Mason and John Reeve, who not being Friends but casually taken at that meeting, entered recognizance as the court desired; and so were released till next sessions. Before which time Mason died, and Reeve being sick appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the eighth month following, the twenty-one pri-



soners that remained were brought to trial; a jury was found who brought in a pretended verdict, that they were guilty of a riot, for only sitting peaceably together without word or action, though there was no proclamation made, nor they required to depart; but one of the jury-men afterwards did confess he knew not what a riot was, yet the prisoners were fined a noble a piece, and re-committed to prison during life (a hard sentence) or the king's pleasure, or until they should pay the said fines. William Woodhouse was forthwith discharged, by his kinsman's paying the fine and fees for him. Thomas Dell and Edward Moor also, by other people of the world, paying their fines and fees for them; and shortly after Stephen Pewsey, by the town and parish where he lived, for fear his wife and children should become a charge upon them. The other seventeen remained prisoners, till king James' proclamation of pardon, whose names were Thomas and William Sexton, Timothy Child, Robert Moor, Richard James, William and Robert Aldridge, John Ellis, George Salter, John Smith, William Tanner, William Batchelor, John Dolbin, Andrew Brothers, Richard Baldwin, John Jennings and Robert Austin.



**SUPPLEMENT**  
TO THE  
***HISTORY OF THE LIFE***  
OF  
**THOMAS ELLWOOD.**

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OUR dear friend Thomas Ellwood, for whom we cannot but have an honourable esteem, for his service in the church, having written an historical account of part of his life, well worth the knowledge of posterity, so far as it goes, viz. to the year 1683, and there left off. Whether he writ any further, or whether ever he designed it, or for what reason he did not proceed, is uncertain; but so it is, that no more of it can be found at present, which is to be lamented, he being a man so eminent many ways, that any part of it should be lost. In consideration whereof, it rose in my heart to write something in order to supply the deficiency thereof; many things occurring to my mind which it is a pity should have been omitted. Therefore for the respect I bore him, and owe to his memory (being acquainted with him for more than the last twenty years of his life) I shall endeavour to make up that defect as far as I am capable of, though far short of what himself might have done, by giving an account of some of the most material passages of the remaining part

of his life, and such memorials of him and his works as came to my hands; which I shall set down with as much brevity and plainness as I can, in sincerity to him, and the truth he professed and adorned. Particularly of his labours, writings, sufferings and end, from the time he left off.

But first I must look back a little, to give some additional account of some passages in relation to his answers to the priests about tithes, for the reader's information and satisfaction, which every body may not know; to prevent misapprehensions in the case.

In the year 1676, he answered a nameless book, miscalled, A friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism; in a book entitled, Truth prevailing and detecting Error; which he divided into nine chapters, according to the various subjects treated of; wherein that nameless author had endeavoured to misrepresent us; the last of which was of tithes 'This,' to use his own words, 'pinching the priests in a tender part, the belly, (as Erasmus wittily said Luther did the monks) made them bestir themselves, and lay their heads together, to consider what was to be done.' After divers debates, and much consultation, as he was informed about it, it was at last resolved to answer that first; which though the last chapter in his book, yet having the first and chiefest place in the priests' minds and affections, the priests' Delilah, the very dar-

king and minion of the clergy, says Thomas Ellwood, the oil by which their lamp is nourished; the pay by which their army is maintained; (as the priest confesses,) and to take away tithes, would be to stop the oil that nourishes the lamp, and force them to disband for want of pay. This being, their chiefest concern, and lying nearest at heart, obtained from them the first and chiefest defence; which at length came forth by a nameless author also, in a book entitled *The right of tithes asserted and proved*. To which Thomas Ellwood replied in 1678, in a large book, entitled *The Foundation of Tithes Shaken, and the four principal Posts of Divine Institution, Primitive Practice, Voluntary Donation and Positive Laws*, on which the nameless author of the said book had set his pretended Right to Tithes, removed. Tracing them all along, from the Patriarchs to the time of the Law; shewing the design and use of them under it; and how they were abolished by the coming and suffering of Christ in the flesh; and how they came to be set up again in the Declension of the Church, by popish kings and councils, in the night of apostacy, for superstitious and idolatrous ends and uses, contrary to the Gospel Dispensation, and consequently not obligatory on Christians, by any Divine Right, to pay in this Gospel Day; answering all the Objections and Pretences, which were brought by that Author for them from the four fore-mentioned Topics.

To this book of Thomas Ellwood's there was a pretended answer put forth two years after, supposed by the author of the former, but nameless still; the author not daring to own his work with his name, (though since called Combers) entitled, *The Right of Tithes Re-asserted*; wherein the proofs from the four former points, are said to be further strengthened and vindicated; especially from the objections taken out of Mr. Selden's *History of Tithes*; as if it was chiefly designed against John Selden; Thomas Ellwood's name or book, not being so much as mentioned in the title page, though often in the book, as if it was, however, designed as an answer to him; which, therefore, Thomas Ellwood, though not entitled to it, took in hand to rejoin to, and had begun and made some considerable progress in it, but before he had gone through or finished it, some other occasions falling in his way, (of which hereafter) it was laid by and never finished, though he had wrote, as he told me, near sixty sheets, (though I find but forty-six amongh his papers; but these with his notes and quotations, will make near sixty) for he had collected a vast number of materials out of authors, in order thereto, as appears by his papers, which I have since seen. For thus it was, that some of the priests' party, vaunting that this second book of the priests was not answered, I took occasion once at London, in the year 1692, to speak to him about it; and he told me that the substance of

the priests' arguments in this second book, were answered in his former, *The Foundation of Tithes Shaken*; only some new quotations which he had brought; and that was what he chiefly designed to deal with the priest about, to examine and clear, by adding some new ones also; but that he never expected to have the last word with the priests about tithes; which their interest lay so much in, that they would never be satisfied, but always be cavilling about some way or other, how little soever it was to the purpose: and some other services taking him off, he laid it by. Which I mention to satisfy any who may question in their minds, why it was never answered, or at least gone through; and this is the reason why I resumed this matter.

'In handling the argument of tithes,' says he, in a paper found among his manuscripts, as an introduction to his said intended answer, 'I write with this disadvantage, that I encounter a numerous party and order of men, with whom interest is far more prevalent than truth; whose profit will not permit them to yield to reason, whose advantage will not suffer them to acknowledge the plainest demonstration; their gain as apparently lying in that which I oppose, as Demetrius' and his fellow craftsmen the silversmiths of Ephesus did, in that which the apostle preached against, Acts xix. 25, 26. Hence is it that they bend all their strength, and employ their utmost force to maintain this point, by which they are main-

tained; and like those shrine-makers of old, they endeavour to carry it by noise and clamour, instead of truth and reason. Nor do they regard what they say, how false soever, or whom they bespatter, how undeservedly soever, in order to the upholding their adored Diana, and enjoying their most beloved Delilah, tithes. My present adversary is not ashamed to say (page one, two) That I, and my fellow quaking speakers, as he reproachfully calls us, have our gain by railing against tithes. A charge so apparently and ridiculously false, that it needs no more than its own malice and folly to detect it. With equal reason might Demetrius have charged St. Paul, that he and his brethren had their gain by impugning the idolatrous worship of Diana.

Sacrilege and idolatry, the priests say, are sins near of kin; but covetousness and the clergy are perhaps nearer. The great outcry against sacrilege is made for the most part by idolators and false ministers; who, as they are most greedy and crafty to get, so are they most solicitous and careful to keep, most enraged and clamorous, when they come to lose their unjustly acquired gains. Thus was it with the popish clergy, after they had gulled the people by a religious cheat, of a great part of their substance, they laboured to terrify them by the name of sacrilege, from attempting to recover that which had been so fraudulently gotten from them, and doubtless the



English clergy, as they derive in chief part, the maintenance they possess from their predecessors, the popish clergy, from whom they received their priesthood, have therewith also taken up from them their old cry of sacrilege, with which, as a bugbear, they would scare all from attempting to discover the cheat. But the legal alienation of a great part of those surreptitious acquisitions of the clergy, begun in Henry the VIII. time, carried on in Edward the VI. and completed in queen Elizabeth's, (of these three, the two last were Protestant princes) hath abated the edge of that clerical weapon, and satisfied the disinterested part of the nation, that the word sacrilege, in this case, is but like a scare-crow, especially when used by the priests for their own profit, as most commonly it is; for though they pretend the maintenance of God's worship, yet it is their own maintenance they intend. And herein Demetrius and they most patly agree; for he also urged, as the most specious pretence, and which was most likely to impress the people, the danger, lest by Paul's preaching, the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised and her magnificence destroyed, Acts xix. 27. Whereas the great inducement to him for stirring, was the danger lest his craft should be set at nought, and he should thereby lose the gains he made by Diana's temple, ver. 25, 27. Do the priests now cry out against sacrilege? So did Demetrius and his craftsmen then. Did they

cloak their private interest with a seeming regard and care for the temple and magnificence of their goddess Diana? So do the priests theirs now, with a pretence of zeal for the worship of God. Did they in their fury take no notice of the magistrates, nor laws of their country? So neither do many of the priests now, who, without regard to law or magistrates, run furiously and tumultuously into their neighbours' grounds, with their servants and teams, and forcibly and arbitrarily take, and carry away their corn and hay, when, where, and in what quantity they please. Will the priests allege, that notwithstanding these irregular practices, yet they have the laws and magistrates on their sides? So had Demetrius and his company too; while the good apostle, not backed by laws, nor countenanced by magistracy, was yet enabled by Divine assistance, to stand the shock of all their rage and fury, and boldly to testify against that which was corrupt and naught, although it had the favour and support of a law and magistracy too; and indeed, so apt is the comparison in most respects, between those shrine-makers, and these tithe-takers, that my adversary in vain labours to retort it; for even the very particulars he instances to cast it upon me, fix it the more firmly on the head of himself, and his own party.

Nor is he less put to it to avoid the force of his own unwary expressions of the oil for the lamp, and pay for the soldier; whereby he

hath discovered that he and his brethren are mere mercenary men, whose lamp will burn no longer than it is fed with the oil of tithes. This was one of the *arcana cleri*, a secret, it seems, that should not have been divulged. But children, and he knows who besides, are said to tell true. And he having inconsiderately blabbed it out, his chief care and art is now how to palliate, extenuate, and mince the matter, and varnish it over with some kind of flourish, that the ground of it may not be seen; but this he does so weakly, and lays his colour so thin, that even the weakest eye may easily see through it. The mention I made of these passages in my former book, he calls tedious and nauseous repetitions; and tedious no doubt, and nauseous it is to him and his brethren, to see the false foundation of their ministry so openly exposed; but so little do I fear those repetitions being nauseous or tedious to the indifferent reader, that upon this occasion, I desire him to peruse them again, in the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth pages of my former book.

From tithes being the oil to their lamp, and pay to their army, he says, I draw, as I imagine, a cutting consequence, viz. That their lamps will not burn without oil, nor they fight without pay. This cutting consequence, as he calls it, he touches as tenderly, as if he was afraid it would cut his fingers; though he well knew, that in the wording of it, he had taken off its edge as much as he could; for if my

consequence had been only, that their lamps will not burn without oil, it would not then have been so keen. He might then have replied, Whose will? Can any lamp burn without oil? No sure; every lamp must have oil, but the oil should be suitable to the lamp; an outward lamp should have outward oil, an inward lamp inward oil. Now they pretending their ministry to be a spiritual lamp, a religious lamp, (as the true ministry indeed is, and can be nourished only by the spiritual, heavenly oil of the Divine eternal word;) and yet confessing tithes to be the oil that nourishes their ministerial lamp, and without which their lamp will not burn; this plainly shews their lamp is not spiritual, nor their ministry what they pretend, &c.

By this we may judge, *ex pede Herculem*, of the priest's performance; and Thomas Ellwood's answer, had he gone through and finished it, which yet I hope, so far as he hath gone, may one time or other see the light, being well worth the perusal as it is; and had he finished it, I am satisfied it would have been a very serviceable piece; no hand, in my judgment, being more capable of such a performance. But he had, as I said, some other services on his hands to divert him; of which his answer to William Rogers' great book, aforesaid, in 1682, entitled, *An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers' Book miscalled the Christian Quaker*; in five parts. Soon after, no doubt, was one containing

above thirty sheets, in which he answered him chapter by chapter, and almost paragraph by paragraph; in relation to church government, and the good order of truth established amongst us; and also as to most of the principles of truth, which the said William Rogers in one part of his work, had endeavoured to pervert to his own ends. A laborious work it was, and difficult task to go through so evenly as he hath done. And though it is controversy, yet pleasant to read; as also his Caution to Constables, and other Inferior Officers, concerning the Execution of the Conventicle Act. With some Observations thereupon. Humbly offered by way of advice, to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c. Which is mentioned in his own account.

1683. And now to come to the time where he breaks off his own relation, and to carry it on in some measure, though far short and inferior to what his own hand could have done. For it cannot be expected that any one can write another man's life like himself; there being many passages, public and private, outward and inward, even as to the frame of his own mind and condition, between God and his own soul; which, as no man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him; so none can relate but himself, or like himself; for as the wise man says, *The heart knoweth his own bitterness, and the stran-*

*ger cannot intermeddle with his joy.* But what occurs from my own knowledge, or from his books and papers, pertinent to the case in hand, shall faithfully be related.

Therefore, to resume the thread of his discourse, and begin where he leaves off. He intimates at the close of his own account, that the magistrates, not thinking the laws made against us, (viz. the conventicle act, &c.) severe enough, perverted the law, by making our peaceable meetings, riots; and indicting our Friends as rioters, that they might fine at pleasure; which he knew to be contrary to law and justice. Nor was it long, says he, before he had occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this matter, viz. the breaking up of the meeting near Wooburn, by justice Hampson, sending Friends to prison, and indicting them for a riot, which shews he designed to write a book on that subject, though he doth not mention it, and accordingly did this year, after the Caution to Constables, &c. as aforesaid. This he called a Discourse concerning Riots; occasioned by some of the People called Quakers being indicted for a Riot, &c. Of which he gives, by way of preface, this further account. ‘The proceedings of late in city and country, against some of the people called Quakers for riots, for only meeting peaceably together to serve and worship God, first put me upon inquiring into the nature of riots. What upon inquiry I have found, I here present to public view, for common benefit; that

none through ignorance, may be the occasion of bringing an unjust suffering upon an innocent people, and thereby guilt on themselves. I do not pretend much skill in law, a study and profession I was never bred to, but having spent some hours on this occasion, in searching what the law books say in this case, I hope I may, without incurring the censure of presumption, communicate my gleaning to such of my well meaning countrymen, as have not leisure or opportunity to inform themselves otherwise. I solemnly declare, I have no other end or aim in this work, than to do good and prevent evil; which consideration, with mea of candour and ingenuity, will be, I hope, a sufficient apology for my seeming boldness in this undertaking. And so he proceeds to set forth what riots are in the law, and law books; of which he cites divers, and scripture too, to shew that our peaceable meetings, which in those days they used to make riots, that they might imprison and fine us at pleasure, could not be riots; though through ignorance or envy, they were often so rendered, which shewed their injustice; saying, 'how truly I have stated the case on the one hand, with respect to riots, the many quotations in the foregoing discourse, will shew. How true an account, on the other hand, I have given of our meetings, the whole nation and all nations where we have meetings, may judge upon the whole. My request is, that all both justices and jurors, who have or shall be

concerned in this or the like case, will seriously weigh the matter, and not strain the law beyond its due extent. To oppress any by colour of law, is the greatest abuse of law. Concluding with a serious recapitulation, and application of the whole; that none for the future might err ignorantly in that respect, and if any would wilfully, they might be left without excuse.

About the same time, or not long after, he wrote also, *A Seasonable Dissuasive from Persecution*; humbly and modestly, yet with Christian freedom and plainness of Speech, offered to the Consideration of all concerned therein; on behalf generally of all that suffer for conscience sake, particularly the people called Quakers. In the beginning of which, he defines what persecution is. 'Persecution,' says he, 'is a word of so harsh a sound, and so generally distasteful to English ears, that scarce any of those who are most forward and active in that work, are willing to have their actions called by that name. That none therefore, who have set an hand to that work, or whose minds are any whit inclining thereto, may from the dislike they have to the word PERSECUTION reject this dissuasive, as a thing wherein they are not concerned; I think it needful here to declare, what it is I mean by persecution. By persecution then, I intend a forcing or compelling any, by pains or penalties, bodily or pecuniary, to relinquish or forsake that exercise of religion, or way of worship, which



they believe to be the right way of worship; and the true and acceptable exercise of religion, which God hath required of them. And to receive, embrace, conform to, and perform some other exercise of religion, and way of worship, which they who are so compelled, are either firmly persuaded is not the right; or at least, have no belief that it is right. This, in short, is that which I call persecution; and this is that which I dissuade from, whatever other name the actors of it may please themselves in calling it by.'

I. To begin with the first of these, viz. the forcing or compelling any to forsake, and leave that exercise of religion, or way of worship, &c. The reasons by which he endeavours to dissuade all men from such an undertaking, are these, i. e. the heads of them: 1. You may, for aught you know, be found fighting against God. You are not, you cannot be, upon your own principles, infallibly sure, that that way of worship which you thus endeavour to force us from, is not the true worship of God. 2. By endeavouring to force us from that way of worship, which we believe the Lord hath led us into, and requireth of us; you endeavour to force us, to make shipwreck of faith.—3. In endeavouring by force and cruelty, to restrain us from worshipping God, as we are fully persuaded he hath taught us, and doth require us, you go out of the path of the righteous, and tread in the steps of the wicked and ungodly.

4. That exercise of religion which you would force us from, is not simply of itself condemned and disallowed by that law, by the severity of which you would force us from it.—5. In thus eagerly pursuing us, and disturbing our peaceable meetings, you give yourselves as well as us, a great deal of needless trouble.—Refrain from these men, and let them alone.—6. And lastly, be pleased to consider, what sort of agents and instruments you are fain to make use of, (and not seldom are yourselves made use of by) to carry on this work. Concluding this part thus; O never give cause for this epitaph to be written on your tombs, *'Here lies a persecutor of the people of God.'*

II. Now for the other branch of persecution, viz. The forcing or compelling of any, by pains or penalties, to receive, embrace, conform to, and perform some exercise of religion, and way of worship, &c. The reasons by which he endeavours to dissuade all men from such an undertaking, are these, viz. the heads:

1. 'In thus imposing your way of worship upon others, you act quite contrary to Christ and his apostles.—2. In thus imposing your way of worship upon others, you follow the worst of patterns, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, &c.—3. In forcing people to your way of worship, who have no belief that it is the right, you cause them to sin: for whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.—4. In forcing

people to your way of worship, who have a firm persuasion and belief that it is not the right, you make men hypocrites and time-servers.—

5. By obtruding and enforcing your religion upon others, you greatly disparage and undervalue it, and give men the more ground to suspect and dislike it.—6. You break that great command, which Christ says is the law and the prophets, viz. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, Mat. vii. 12.'

All these reasons are illustrated and backed with scripture and reason; concluding with a very close and seasonable application to our persecutors. A solid, serious discourse it is, if any arguments had been sufficient to dissuade men from persecution, (of which there was very great about this time; particularly in London, Bristol, and divers other places) the whole being well worth perusal; and I should have inclined to insert it at large, but that it hath pleased God to incline the hearts of our superiors to ease us in that respect, by granting a toleration to Protestant dissenters; for which we are thankful. These three, viz. the **Caution to Constables, Discourse of Riots, and Dissuasive from Persecution**, were all written, or at least printed this year, 1683.

1684. And he acquitted himself so well on these subjects, that one William Tournay, to him unknown, sent him a letter from London, taking notice of the aforesaid tracts, which he was so well pleased with, that he desired his

judgment on the twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirty-fifth of queen Elizabeth, in relation to the proceedings then upon them; to which our Friend Thomas Ellwood returned him an answer in a large letter, which is in his decades of letters, among many others, to divers persons, and on various subjects, well worthy the perusal, from the year 1670, down to his latter times; and if they were published, would help to supply the deficiency of his own account of the latter part of his life.

About this time he wrote a poem, or hymn of praise to the Lord, which I think well deserves to be inserted in this work.\*

1685. William Rogers, whom our author answered in the year 1682, (as aforesaid) though he did not reply to it, or ever attempted it, that I have heard of, putting forth a rhyming scourge for George Whitehead, against whom he had bent his most inveterate spleen, and who had also answered his great book, falsely called the Christian Quaker, in a book entitled, the Accuser of the Brethren cast down; &c. Thomas Ellwood wrote an answer to his scourge, in verse, entitled, *Rogero Mastix*; a Rod for William Rogers, in return for his Rhiming Scourge: for which he gives the following reason.

To such as ask why I in verse have writ,  
This answer I return, I held it fit,  
Verse should in verse be answer'd, prose in prose.  
My adversary his own weapon chose.

\* See No. 13 of the Appendix.

He chose before in prose to write, and then  
 I answer'd him in prose. So now again,  
 Since he his style from prose to verse hath chang'd,  
 And in the muses walks hath boldly rang'd,  
 In his own method him I chose to treat,  
 Lest he should wise be in his own conceit.

1686. In the second month this year, he had a concern upon his spirit, in a deep sense of the enemy's working to sow divisions, and endeavouring to lay waste the testimony of truth, to write an epistle to Friends; which he did very solidly and weightily; to stir up Friends to faithfulness, and to beware of the enemy's wiles, and avoid that rending, dividing spirit, which was then at work to cause division and strife among Friends; which being so seasonable and excellent, both for matter and style, the whole is thought meet to be here inserted at large; and is as follows.



## AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS.

Dear Friends, unto whom the gathering arm of the Lord hath reached, and who have known in your several measures, a being gathered thereby into the heavenly life, and are witnesses of the preserving power, by which ye have been kept faithful to the Lord, and regardful of his honour. Unto you, in an especial manner, is the salutation of my true and tender love in the Lord; and for you as for

myself, are the breathings and fervent desires of my soul offered up in the one spirit, unto him who is your God and mine; that both you and I may be for ever kept in the fresh sense of his tender mercies, and great loving kindness unto us; that therein our souls may cleave firmly unto him, and never depart from him. For, Friends, it is a trying day, a day of great difficulty and danger; wherein the enemy is at work, and very busy, setting his snares on every side, and spreading his temptations on every hand. And some, alas! have entered thereinto, and are caught and held therein; for whom my soul in secret mourns.

And truly, Friends, a great weight hath been upon my spirit for many days, and my mind hath been deeply exercised, in the sense I have of the enemy's prevailing, by one bait or other, to unsettle the minds of some, whom the arm of the Lord had reached unto, and in some measure gathered to a resting place. But not abiding in that pure light by which they were at first visited, and to which they were at first turned, the understanding hath been veiled again, the eye which was once in some measure opened, hath the god of the world insensibly blinded again, and darkness is again come over to that degree, that they can now contentedly take up again, what in the day of their conviction, and in the time of their true tenderness, they cast off as a burthen too heavy to be borne. O my Friends! this hath been the enemy's work;

therefore, it greatly behoves all to watch against him; for it hath been for want of watchfulness, that he hath got entrance into any. For when the mind hath been from off the true watch, in a secure and careless state, then hath he secretly wrought and presented his fair baits, his allurements or enticements by pleasure or profit, to catch the unwary mind. And hence it hath come to pass, that some who have come out fairly, and begun well, and have seemed in good earnest to have set their hands to God's plough, have looked back, and been weary of the yoke of Christ, and have either lusted after the flesh-pots of Egypt again, or turned aside into some by-path or crooked way in the wilderness, and thereby have fallen short of the promised good land.

But you, my dear Friends, in whom the word of life abides, and who abide in the virtue and savour thereof, ye know the wiles of the enemy, and the power which subdues him, and the rock in which the preservation and safety is. So that I write not these things unto you, because ye know them not; but the end of my thus writing, is to stir up the pure mind in all, upon whom the name of the Lord is called, that we all may be provoked to watchfulness against the workings of the wicked one. Therefore, dear Friends, bear, I beseech you, the word of exhortation; though from one that is little and low, (and through mercy sensible of it) and who hath not been

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accustomed to appear after this manner; for the wind, ye know, bloweth where it listeth.

Friends, call to mind the former times, and remember the days that are past and gone, when the day of the Lord first dawned unto you, and his power seized upon you. Ye know how weighty and retired the spirits of Friends then were, how grave and solid their deportment and carriage; how few and savoury their words, tending to edify the hearers; how great a fear and backwardness was in them to enter into familiarity with the world's people. O Friends, that was a good day, and that was a safe state; for fear begets watchfulness, and watchfulness is a means to prevent danger. Therefore, all Friends keep in the holy fear, and therein watch against the enemy, that he entangle you not, nor hurt your spirits, by a too near familiarity and intimate conversing with the people of the world; for therein I assure you lies a snare. For though it be both lawful and necessary, and in some cases also useful and serviceable to the truth, to converse with them that are without, yet if any Friend should adventure in a frank and free mind, beyond the limits of the pure fear, to entertain familiarity with the world's people, the spirit of the world in them will seek an entrance, and, if not diligently watched against, will also get an entrance; and bring a hurt and a loss upon him or them into whom it so gets. For being once entered, it will insensibly work, and dispose the



mind into which it is got, to a condescension to, and compliance with the people of the world it converses with; first in one thing, then in another, in words, in behaviour, &c. little things in appearance, but great in consequence; till at length an indifferency gets up in the mind, and the testimony of truth by degrees is let fall. But while the pure fear is kept to and dwelt in, the watch is always set, the spirit is retired and weighty, and an holy awfulness rests upon the mind, which renders such converse both safe to the Friends, and more serviceable to them they converse withal.

And Friends, not only in your conversing with the world's people, but in all your conversation and course of life, watch against the spirit of the world, for it lies near to tempt and draw out the mind, and to lead back into the world again. You know, Friends, that at the first, when the visiting arm of the Lord reached to us, he led us out of the world's ways, manners, customs and fashions; and a close testimony, both in word and practice, was borne against them. But how hath this testimony been kept up, and kept to by all, who have since made profession of the truth? Ah, how hath the enemy, for want of watchfulness, stole in upon too, too many, and led out their minds from that which did at first convince them, into a liberty beyond the cross of Christ Jesus; and in that liberty they have run into the world's fashions, which the world-

ly spirit continually invents to feed the vain and airy minds withal, that they may not come to gravity and solidity?

Thence it hath come to pass, that there is scarce a new fashion come up, or a fantastic cut invented, but some one or other that professes truth, is ready with the foremost to run into it. Ah, Friends, the world sees this and smiles, and points the finger at it. And this is both a hurt to the particular, and a reproach to the general. Therefore, O let the lot be cast, let search be made by every one, and let every one examine himself, that this Achan, with his Babylonish garment, may be found out and cast out; for indeed, he is a troubler of Israel. And all Friends, who upon true search shall find yourselves concerned in this particular, I warn and exhort you all, return to that which at first convinced you; to that keep close, in that abide; that therein ye may know, as at the first, not only a bridle to the tongue, but a curb to the roving mind, a restraint to the wandering desire. For assuredly, Friends, if truth be kept to, none will need to learn of the world what to wear, what to put on, or how to shape and fashion their garments; but truth will teach all how best to answer the end of clothing, both for useful service and modest decency. And the cross of Christ will be a yoke to the unruly will, and a restraint upon the wanton mind; and will crucify that nature that delights in finery and in bravery of apparel, in which the true adorn-

ing doth not stand, but in the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even a meek and quiet spirit, 1 Pet. iii. 4. And the grace of God, which hath appeared to all, and which hath brought salvation to many, will not only teach to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, Titus ii. 11, 12; but will also lead those that obey it, out of all excess, and out of all superfluities and worldly vanities, and will teach them to order their conversation aright. Therefore, to this heavenly grace let every mind be turned, and therein stayed, that thereby all who profess the truth, may be kept in the holy limits of it; that in their whole conversation and course of life, in eating, in drinking, in putting on apparel, and in whatsoever else we do, or take in hand, that all may be done to the glory of God, 1 Cor. x. 31, that our moderation in all things may appear unto all men,

And let not any deceive and hurt themselves with a false plea; saying, I will be left to my liberty; I have freedom to do, go, or wear so and so; and religion stands not in clothes, &c. For that liberty which the worldly spirit leads into, is not indeed the true liberty, but is a false and feigned liberty, which leads into true and real bondage. And though religion stands not simply in clothes, yet true religion stands in that which sets a bound and limit to the mind with respect to clothes as well as to other things. So that where there is a run-

ning out into excess and vanity in apparel, that is a certain indication and token, that the mind has got loose, and hath cast off the yoke, and is broke away from its due subjection to that Divine power, in which the true religion stands.

Great hath been the hurt which the enemy hath done in this day, by leading into a false freedom, and crying up a wrong liberty ; for under this pretence have crept in great disorders, some running out one way, and some another ; some mixing in marriages with the world's people, and some going to the priest to be married. And many loose and unclean spirits have shrouded themselves under this plausible pretence of being left to their liberty, unto whom truth's order is irksome and uneasy ; and they kick against it and call it imposition, because it checks their licentious liberty. Therefore, all who join with their plea, examine and try what liberty it is ye claim and stand for ; for the true liberty is not inconsistent with the cross of Christ, nor repugnant to his yoke, but agrees with it, and is obtained through it, and maintained by it. And none whom the Son hath made free indeed, will or can plead, or make use of that liberty, in opposition to any means which the God of order hath appointed, or set up in his church, for the keeping out confusion, disorder and looseness. And hereby all may take a right measure, and may certainly know what kind of liberty that is, which some have so hotly contended for, in opposition to that necessary and commendable order, which God

hath led his people into, and which the enemy in his agents, labours so hard to lead them out of. For the enemy well knows, that the tendency and service thereof, is to detect and discover his secret workings, and to bring his deeds to light and judgment; and therefore he strives with might and main to overturn it, crying out through his instruments, Away with your order, let every one be left to his liberty. By which seemingly fair and specious plea, not only the loose, disorderly, factious spirits have been let up, and encouraged to greater boldness and licentiousness, but some simple and well-meaning Friends also, not seeing the design of Satan therein, have been misled thereby, and made use of by the enemy, and the more subtle of his instruments, to oppose the good order of truth. Thus hath the enemy wrought, and sought to lay waste the work of the Lord. But the Lord, magnified be his holy name, hath not been wanting to his people, who in sincerity of heart have diligently waited on him, and trusted in him; for he hath all along raised up some, whose eye he hath opened to see the design and working of the evil one; and whose spirits he hath engaged to stand up in a faithful testimony against him, contending for the way of truth. Which, when they in whom the enemy wrought, perceived and found they could not run over the heads of Friends, and carry things on as themselves pleased, they set themselves in a heady wilful spirit, to raise disturbances in meetings for business, by en-

couraging and abetting such heady, loose, contentious and disorderly persons as would join with them; thus hardening themselves, and provoking the Lord to give them up to blindness and hardness of heart, till at length the enemy prevailed so far upon them, as to work them by degrees, from discontent to prejudice, then to enmity, and so at length, in divers places, to an open defection, apostacy and separation.

Now, although I know, my dear Friends, that ye who have kept your habitation in the light of the Lord, and whose eye is single therein, have a clear sight and understanding, that the spirit which hath thus wrought and fought against the truth, is not, nor can be of God, but is of the wicked one; and although the fruits it hath brought forth, through the agents and instruments in and by which it hath wrought, viz. making disturbances in meetings, to the breaking the church's peace; causing divisions amongst Friends; publishing to the world most wicked, malicious, railing and scandalous books against Friends, (an effect of the greatest enmity) shutting and keeping Friends out of their common meeting-houses, in which they have a just right and property, and not suffering them to meet therein, which is a part of the persecution inflicted on Friends by the world, and at length also set up separate meetings, in opposition to the meetings of God's people; although, I say, these fruits are sufficient of themselves to dis-

cover and manifest to an unclouded mind; what spirit that is and must needs be, which hath brought them forth, yet inasmuch as some, partly through weakness of judgment, and partly through personal affection to some of those leading separatists, are yet in danger to be betrayed by their fair words and feigned speeches, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive, I feel a concern remain upon my spirit, in the love of God, to warn all such, that they join not with, nor give countenance unto that spirit that hath thus wrought against the Lord, and against his people.

For Friends, in the holy fear of the living God, and in the openings of the spring of his pure life in my soul, at this time, and from the certain knowledge and clear demonstration which I have received from him therein, I testify and declare unto you, that this spirit, which in this day hath run out, and hath drawn out some into opposition against the way and work of the Lord, into division and separation from the people of the Lord, and from the holy assemblies which the Lord hath gathered, and by his powerful presence hath owned, and daily doth own; this spirit, I say, is the same with that which hath formerly wrought, in other appearances, against the truth in our time; and is the same with that spirit that wrought against the work of the Lord in the days of the holy apostles. This mystery of iniquity then wrought, and caused many to turn aside, and to leave the right way

of the Lord, and to forsake the assemblies of God's people, Heb. x. 25. Yea, and to run into separation too, Jude 19. Upon whom the Holy Ghost hath set his brand; that they were sensual, having not the spirit. And many close and sharp testimonies did the Lord give forth through his servants in that day against this spirit, and against those that were joined to it, and acted by it, as may be seen in the holy scriptures.

Yea, Friends, this spirit that hath led some now to set up their separate meetings, is the same that led Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, to set up his separate altar at Bethel, of which you may read, 1 Kings, 12th and 13th chapters. He was afraid, that if the people should continue to go up to the house of the Lord, to do sacrifice there, as they had been accustomed to do, and as the Lord had required, they would then forsake him, and return to the Lord again. And this spirit now is afraid, that if they whom he hath seduced and drawn aside, should still frequent the assemblies of God's people, and continue to meet with Friends as before, that heavenly power which is eminently manifest in the meetings of God's people, might at one time or other reach unto them, touch their hearts, open the right eye in them, and give them to see the mischief and misery he is leading them into. And therefore to prevent this, and to keep his captives close unto him, he hath contrived to set up separate meetings, in opposition to the meet-



ings of God's appointment, as Jeroboam set up his separate altar, in opposition to the altar which God hath commanded to be set up; and to keep the people from going thereto. And so subtilly did this spirit work then, as well as now, that Jeroboam contrived to have his false worship bear some resemblance to the true; that he might the more easily beguile the people; for he ordained a feast like unto the feast that was in Judah, 1 Kings xii. 32. But it was in the month which he had devised of his own heart, ver. 33. Mark that, there is a blot upon it; how fair or specious soever the worship he set up appeared or seemed to be, yet it was but the device of his own heart; it was neither appointed by God, nor accepted of God. For you may read in the 13th chapter, that the Lord sent a prophet, a man of God, out of Judah to Bethel, and he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and prophesied the destruction thereof by Josiah; which was afterwards outwardly fulfilled, as you may read, 2 Kings xxiii. 15, &c. Now Josiah signifies, the fire, or burning of the Lord. And in the holy dread of the living eternal God, I declare, the fire of the Lord is kindled, and kindling against this accursed separating spirit, and against its work, and against all those that join with it therein. Therefore, all fear before the mighty God, and stand still and consider your ways; and let none resist or reject the warning of the Lord, lest such be hardened to destruction. For

Jeroboam, you may read, stood by his separate altar, 1 Kings xii. ver. 1. And when he heard the saying of the man of God, which he cried against the altar in Bethel, he put forth his hand, saying, Lay hold on him. But his hand which he put forth against him dried up, so that he could not pull it in again to him, ver. 4.

O Friends, consider how hath dryness and withering come upon many a great and stout one in this day, who have lifted up themselves against the Lord ; and have sought by the devices of their own hearts, to establish themselves in their own way, against the way of the Lord ; so that the hand they have put forth in that work, they could not pull in again. Now mind, I pray you, Friends, and observe the way of the working of this spirit in that day. Here was the enmity, the rough nature of Cain and Esau, the spirit of persecution got up first in Jeroboam to dismay the man of God ; Lay hold of him, says he ; but when he saw that would not do, then the subtle serpent, the crafty fox, the fair speeches, the smooth words, the seeming friendship and show of kindness to betray him. Come home with me, says he to the man of God, and refresh thyself, and I will give thee a reward, ver. 7. O Friends, stand in the fear and counsel of the Lord, and in the dominion of his power, over this wicked spirit in all its twistings and twinings. Let neither the frowns nor the fawnings, the threats nor the flatteries, the hard speeches nor the oily words, the pharisaical friendship,

the dissembling love, the seeming kindness, the familiar carriage, the free entertainment; the fine bit, the offer of advantages, &c. have any influence upon you to draw you in the least measure, to join or touch with God's enemy; with him that sets up a separate altar, a separate meeting, in opposition to, and to draw or keep from the right way of the Lord. Mind well the answer which the man of God gave to Jeroboam's tempting invitation; If, said he, thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee; neither will I eat bread, nor drink water in this place, ver. 8. This was where the separate altar was set up. And he gives a forcible reason for it; 'For so it was charged me by the word of the Lord, ver. 9.'

Here now you see both the charge of the Lord, and the good resolution of the man of God; I will not go in with thee, who hast revolted from God, neither will I eat or drink in this place, where an ensign of separation and opposition to the way of God is set up. Consider this well, I warn you all, in whom there is yet any true breathings after the living God, who retain any tenderness, and in whom there is any simplicity left, consider this well, when thy pretended friend or friends, in a great deal of seeming love and kindness, shall invite thee to partake with them at their separate altar, to sit down with them in their separate meeting. Thou canst not be a man of God, and go in with them, or eat or drink in that place. Thou

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canst not sit down there to wait for the bread of life, or the water of life to be given thee there; no, the word of the Lord, if thou givest heed unto it, will charge thee otherwise. Therefore to that pure living word let every mind be turned, and thereto kept, in a diligent waiting to receive wisdom, strength and power from the Lord therein, that none may be betrayed by the subtilty of the enemy, with whatsoever fair pretences he may come. For remember how the man of God, that was enticed by another to eat and drink outwardly at Bethel, the place where the separate altar was set up, lost his outward life 1<sup>st</sup> Cor. ver. 18, and 24. And if thou shalt presume to go in, to eat or to drink spiritually, that is to join in worship with the sons of Nebat at this day, in the separate meetings which any of them have set up in opposition to the assemblies of God's people, and to the blessed way and work of the Lord, how knowest thou, but thou mayest for ever lose thy spiritual life, and never know a day of quickening more.

Therefore, all Friends, watch against every temptation thereunto, as you love your lives, as you regard the good and eternal welfare of your souls, and let not the name, nor person of any man have power over you, to draw you aside, neither let numbers sway with you; in which, I know these adversaries of truth do not a little boast, though blessed be God, with little reason. But remember that Jeroboam of old, had ten tribes out of twelve, to cry up his

separate altar, notwithstanding which, he is branded to posterity in the holy record, with this brand, *Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin*, 2 Kings xiv. 24. Therefore let not any follow a multitude to do evil, Exod. xxiii. 2. But all follow that which is good both among yourselves and to all men, 1 Thess. v. 15. For, Friends, you know whither the broad way leads, and what it is the wide gate opens into, which the many go in at; but keep ye to the strait gate, and walk ye on in the narrow way, for in it is safety, and at the end of it everlasting happiness.

But, Friends, because of the straitness of this gate, and the narrowness of this way, some that have attempted to walk in it, are grown weary of it, and have sought out another way, a way which (Jeroboam like) they have devised of their own hearts; wherein they may have more room, more scope, more company, ease in the flesh, liberty to the flesh, and all without control. And this I am satisfied, hath not been the least motive to the separation in this day, as it was the greatest in days past; though some that have been drawn into it, may not perhaps see the ground upon which it was undertaken. But the Lord hath opened an eye in many, which sees the rise and ground, entrance and end of this libertine spirit, and its work. And this eye will the Lord daily open more and more, in all that diligently and in sincerity wait upon him. Therefore, all Friends every where, who have

not yet a clear sight, and a thorough understanding of the nature and work, design and drift of this dividing spirit, wait, I beseech you, in simplicity of heart, and lowliness of mind, upon the Lord, and keep to the measure of the grace you have received from him ; and suffer not your minds to be swayed or biassed by any personal kindness, natural affection, relation, kindred or acquaintance ; but stand single and open to the Lord, not joining to, nor any way countenancing that which the testimony of truth, in the arisings of the heavenly life, and breakings forth of the Divine power through any, goes forth against. So will your present standing be safe, and you be preserved out of the snares of this insinuating and treacherous spirit. And the Lord in his appointed time, as ye abide with him, will open your understandings further, and give you a clearer sight of that, which at present you do not fully see ; and thereby bring you to that certainty and assurance, which (blessed be his name) he hath brought many unto.

And you, my dear Friends, whose spirits the Lord hath stirred up, and whose hearts he hath engaged in an' holy zeal, to stand up for his blessed name and truth, and to bear a faithful testimony against this wicked rending spirit, go on in the strength and power of the Lord, in the might of the God of Jacob ; for you are assuredly on the Lord's side, and the Lord Jehovah, the strength of Israel, is on your side. Therefore, Friends, be encour-

aged in the Lord, to stand steadfast in your testimony, not giving way to the enemy, no, not for a moment. And take heed, I beseech you in the love of God, how ye enter into any treaty of peace, or terms of agreement with this ungodly, treacherous spirit, which is out of the truth, and draws out of the truth, and fights against the truth ; for there is no peace unto it, saith my God. And they who have joined themselves unto it, and have wickedly given themselves up to be acted by it, and to act for it, must pass through the river of judgment, if ever they be redeemed from under its power. Friends, condemnation must first be felt and owned, before reconciliation can be known ; and the fire of the Lord must pass upon the transgressor, to consume the works of darkness, the ungodly deeds, the envious reviling speeches, the wicked, malicious, slanderous books and pamphlets, &c. and to burn up the ground from whence they sprung. For a flaming sword hath the Lord God set in his Eden, which turneth every way ; and none that are gone out can ever come in again, but they must pass under the flaming edge thereof. Therefore, my dear Friends, stand your ground, in the authority of the heavenly life, and tamper not with God's enemies ; remember the word of the Lord to the prophet, Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them ; Jer. xv. 19. And then what follows ? I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall, and they shall fight against thee, but they

shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, to save thee and to deliver thee, saith the Lord, ver. 20. So the God of life fill your hearts daily more and more with a Phineas zeal for the honour of his name; and furnish you abundantly with wisdom and counsel, with boldness and courage, with strength and power, to encounter and overcome the enemy; and make every one more watchful against the spirit of the world, to withstand it in all its allurements to vanity, of whatsoever kind, that whatsoever would defile the camp of the Lord, may be purged out, and kept out, that the Lord may more and more delight in his people, and shower down his blessings upon them; which is the fervent desire of

Your faithful friend, in the love and service of the unchangeable truth,

THOMAS ELLWOOD.

*2d Month, 24th, 1686.*

1688. After this I do not find he wrote any thing, (only some private letters in his decades) but lived retired till the year 1688. In which time of privacy, as fittest for it, he began a work which he did not finish till many years after; and that was the Life of David King of Israel, in verse; which he began for his own diversion, not thinking then of printing it, and carried it on to the end of the third book. But then the prince of Orange landing, and



the revolution following, the nation being in arms against king James ; the noise of guns, and sound of drums, &c. so disturbed his meditation and gentle muse, (which like the halcyon, breeds in calm weather) that his poetical genius left him for a time, and he thereupon left his work for above twenty years ; of which more hereafter in its place.

1690. And here he retired again for two years ; so that I find nothing to remark of him, either public or private, but some private letters, till the year 1690. When John Raunce and Charles Harris, of Wiccomb, in that county, publishing a memorial, as they called it, for the present generation, and also for that which is to come ; being an account from Wiccomb, concerning the difference, &c. This Thomas Ellwood answered in a book entitled, the Account from Wiccomb, lately published by John Raunce and Charles Harris, Examined, and found False. And a warning thereof given, to all such well-meaning persons among the people-called Quakers, as through personal affection, want of consideration, or weakness of judgment, have been betrayed, or may be in danger of being betrayed by them, or any other in the same dividing spirit with them ; and led aside from the way of truth, into a separation from the people of God : for whose recovery and preservation this is written. Which begins thus :

‘ For your sakes it is, O ye much pitied ones, more than for any weight in the account

itself, or worth in the authors of it, that I have thus taken notice of it. For indeed, as soon as I had perused it, I felt a compassionate concern spring in my heart on your behalfs; and a direction in spirit to open some passages therein, and relating thereto, to you, that ye might be preserved from being taken; or, if in any measure taken, might be rescued and delivered from the snare, which the enemy of your souls, and of all righteousness, hath made use of these men to set, to entangle, entrap and catch you by. And to the true witness of the holy God, in every one of your consciences, who retain any honest breathings after the Lord, and the way of holiness, do I recommend this my undertaking, and the sincerity of my intention herein.' Wherein he discovered their deceit, as to their separation; and that it was not for conscience, but from a libertine spirit, to lay waste the good order in the church, as their actions manifested: of which he gave some instances, not to their advantage. But their works have made them manifest.

1691. The next book he published was in 1691, viz. A Reply to an Answer lately published, to a book long since written by William Penn; entitled A brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual; both with respect to Persons in their private Capacity, and in their Church Society and Conversation. Which book was written, or at least published by William Penn, in the year 1681. To dis-

tinguish between true and false liberty, little understood by some, and too frequently abused by others; liberty from sin, not to sin, to do God's will, and not our own; as William Penn expresses it. Which true spiritual liberty, being abused by some in the profession of the truth, as our friend Thomas Ellwood observes in his preface; 'who under pretence of being left to that liberty in themselves, and to their own freedom therein, both took liberty to do such things as were inconsistent with that true liberty, and with the principle of truth which they professed, and despising those useful, good and necessary helps and means, which the Lord hath provided and furnished his church and people with, for the preventing and keeping out such disorders, evils and scandals, as the unruly nature of man, through such a mistake of true liberty, might and would bring in, did reject the counsel, admonition or reproof of their brethren, with what hast thou to do with me? leave me to my own freedom. To reclaim, if it might be, those who are thus deceived, and prevent others from being so, the author being pressed in spirit for Zion's sake, and for the peace of Jerusalem; and having a deep sense, as himself expresses, of the working of the enemy of Zion's peace, to rend and divide the heritage of God, did write the forementioned treatise, for the establishment of the faithful, information of the simple-hearted, and reproof of the arrogant and highminded.' Which

striking at the false liberty and pretences of the separate party, it seems it had lain on their stomachs undigested these ten years, and then came forth an answer to it by J. H. (supposed to be John Hog, one of the separates about Hull.) This answer our Friend Thomas Ellwood undertakes and replies to, in a pretty large book; in which he shews what is meant by true spiritual liberty, in William Penn's own definition, which he defends; shews their abuse of it, answers their arguments or rather cavils against it, in behalf of their false libertine spirit and practices, which too many ran into, to their own hurt, and separation from the church, the body of Christ, whereof he is head; saying in the preface, 'The God of truth knows, I have no other end in this reply, than to defend truth, and the children of it, against the slanderous suggestions, false charges, and wicked insinuation of the adversaries; to lay open their deceitful dealing, and to remove, as the Lord shall enable me, the stumbling blocks, which they have laid in the way of the weak, whereby they have caused some to fall into misapprehensions and hard thoughts of Friends, without cause. And I beseech the God of mercy to open the understandings, and clear the sight of all those, whose simplicity has been betrayed by the others' subtilty, that they may see and escape the enemy's snares, and return to the true fold, from which they have been led astray.' To which I never heard of any

rejoinder; only some private letters passed between J. H. and Thomas Ellwood about some passages in it.

1692. His next were two broadsides; the first, in 1692, viz. Thomas Ellwood's Answer to so much of Leonard Key's late printed Sheet as relates to him. Which paper of Leonard Key's was intended mostly to excuse their shutting Friends out of their meeting-house at Reading. But therein taking occasion to slant at some passages in Thomas Ellwood's answer to the account from Wiccomb, gave our Friend Thomas an occasion, not only to open that matter further, but also to lay open their deceit in relation to that affair, as well as Leonard Key's, and his party at Reading. To which I refer the reader.

1693. The second was in 1693, viz. Deceit Discovered, and Malice Manifested, in Leonard Key's late Paper from Reading. Thomas being then at London at the yearly-meeting, met with B. Coal's Expedients for a true Reconciliation among the People of God called Quakers; which Leonard Key, it seems, promoted. But when Thomas Ellwood came home, he found a letter at his house directed to him, from Leonard Key, with a printed sheet enclosed, so different in terms and tendency from the other, signed by B. Coal and Charles Harris, (that proposing expedients for peace, this renewing the difference) and yet but one day different in the dates, this being dated the 3d, the other the 4th of the 4th

month, 1693, that he could not but admire at it; which therefore he compares, and shews the difference of, and discovers their deceit in; and not only in that, but also in relation to the difference at Wiccomb, which they were not yet easy under, and yet would not confess the truth; but instead thereof, John Raunce endeavours to fix a slander on Thomas Ellwood, about his father's burial, pretending he was not buried in the right ground, but among strangers; he and his party riding twenty miles or more about the country; and John Raunce going himself to the place where he was buried at Holton, to pick up a stone at the father's grave, to throw at the son, above seven years after his death; enquiring, examining, yea, provoking some to pretend, as if Thomas Ellwood had been unkind to his father, and that they had shewed him kindness to bring Thomas under obligation of requital, or upbraid him for ingratitude if he did not. In all which John Raunce's malice was manifest more than any thing else; for as to the ground he was buried in, Thomas Ellwood confesses he was not so well acquainted with the grave-yard as to know the difference of places in it, or whether some parts of it be more holy than others; which he thinks, considering their former principles, they should not have quarrelled with him about. However, the place was not of his appointing; for he was prevented of being at the burial, by a message his father received in his sickness,

that his sister, but which of them he doth not say, lay then sick in London, near unto death. After he had waited on his father until he had finished his life, and given direction for his interment, he hastened up to his sister at London, thinking he might be more serviceable to the living than to the dead, and knew not in what part of the ground his father was buried, till after his return from London, he went thither to defray the charges of his sickness and funeral, as some of them knew, and therefore the more shame to raise such a story. And as to the other of unkindness, they could prove nothing, but shew their envy against him, which we shall have occasion to take further notice of, ere we have done.

The next and last book he wrote in relation to this controversy with the separates, was, A fair Examination of a foul Paper, called, Observations and Reflections, &c. lately published by John Raunce and Leonard Key; who after their separate bickerings, come now to join their forces together in this paper, which seems to be reflections on Thomas Ellwood's last mentioned paper; and which paper of theirs our Friend answers in this examination, wherein their envy is rebuked, and their folly and falsehood laid open, in endeavouring to excuse Leonard Key's former paper of revival of the difference, at the same time when Benjamin Coal's expedient for reconciliation was for having it all forgotten and buried, which Thomas Ellwood exposes in its proper colours;

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beginning thus, ' We read among the proverbs of Solomon, that the way of the wicked is as darkness, they know not at what they stumble; Prov. iv. 19. This is verified in John Raunce and Leonard Key, and others of their separate party. Since their turning against the truth, their way is become as darkness; they stumble and know not at what. They fall into many idle absurdities, many gross follies and errors, and into many hurtful evils, and labour to draw others, better than themselves after them; for whose sake chiefly the following lines are written, that the deceit and hypocrisy of these men, their falsehood and envy being further and further laid open, the more simple and well-meaning ones amongst them, may see them as they are, and be no longer beguiled by them.' So he goes on to answer their cavils, confirming by certificate his former charge of their scandalous practice at Wiccomb; then answers their new slander, (the old proving false) that he suffered his father to want; raking into his ashes when he had been dead above ten years to cast something at his son, (so restless is envy) as if he had been short in his duty to his father, which Thomas Ellwood fairly and clearly wipes off, vindicating himself as to his not being at his father's burial, which John Raunce throws at him, though Thomas in his last had fairly related the occasion; which was his sister's illness at London, though she recovered; and which one would think might



have satisfied any one, not overgrown with envy; which yet John Raunce revives again, and also about his burial, &c. All which appears to be nothing but John Raunce's rancor, which seeing he has made so much ado about, out of his inveterate malice to Thomas Ellwood, under pretence of friendship to his father, but to be sure hatred to the son; and as Thomas Ellwood says, if this be the effect of his friendship, he should not desire to be numbered among his friends. To set which in a clear light, I shall here set down his vindication in his own words, because it bears some analogy to his relation of the former part of his life, viz. page 20 of the Fair Examination. 'Tis well known to many, that my father was possessed of a good estate; and they that knew him well, knew also that he had the spending of it himself. How he spent it becomes not me to speak; he was my father, to whom I owed and always paid respect and honour, while living; and whose frailty, being dead, I desire to cover. It is enough for me to say, I did not help him to spend his estate, nor was I much chargeable to him, after I was capable of shifting for myself. And when it pleased the Lord to visit me with the saving knowledge of his truth, and bring me under the visible characters of the profession thereof, (which was about the 20th year of my age) my father expressing a dislike to me on that account, by degrees withdrew his care of me, not making any provision for my main-

tenance, save the giving me such of his household goods as he could spare, upon his giving over house-keeping ; though he had then a plentiful estate remaining. When afterwards he sold his estate, I had no part at all of the money.' [Though upon his marriage he promised both him and his intended wife, to do something considerable for them, yet after they were married he refused to give them any thing ; and so far withdrew himself, that he would not let him know where he lodged.] 'Notwithstanding this,' says Thomas Ellwood, 'he would sometimes come to my house, which was always open and free to him, to come when he pleased, and to tarry as long as he pleased. Whenever he came he was well habited, both for linen and woollen, and made no appearance of want, other than such as may befall any man, to have his money fall short on a journey ; upon which occasion, when he had, as he said, been longer from home than he expected, or when, being here, he had a mind to go further than at his coming forth he intended, he has divers times asked me to lend him money, which I always did, and never asked him for it again. And to the best of my remembrance it was not above two weeks before his last sickness, that he had been at my house, and had money of me on that account. As soon as I heard of his illness, I hastened to him, and took the best care of him I could during his life ; and after his death defrayed the charge of his sick-

neys and burial, and repaid to my sister that money she had sent him before I knew of his illness. I could say more on this subject than I intend, or at present think fit, but I forbear, and commit my innocent cause to the Lord, not doubting, but that as I am clear in his sight from any undutifulness or unkindness towards my father, so he will clear mine innocence in the hearts of his people, and of all unprejudiced persons.'

This I hope will satisfy the reader of Thomas Ellwood's carriage towards his father, which we are beholden to John Raunce for, or else perhaps we might never have had this account, which one would think envy itself should not be able to cavil at: yet after this, John Raunce being restless, trumped up another story, answered by Thomas Ellwood in his postscript to that book; which we shall meet with again hereafter, on another occasion; and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

Here ends his controversy with the separatists; in which I must needs say, he acquitted himself as an ingenuous man, a christian, and a fair opponent. And now to come to something more pleasant. Our dear Friend George Fox dying in the eleventh month, 1690, and leaving behind him an excellent journal of his travels and sufferings, our friend Thomas Ellwood, (as nobody fitter) about this time, was at the pains of transcribing it, and fitting it for the press. (A laborious work.) Which was printed next year in a large folio;

to which Thomas Ellwood prefixed a notable account concerning him, which is the only single testimony printed with it; except his wife's, Margaret Fox's, and an excellent preface by William Penn.

1694. But now a new scene opens; for George Keith, who had known better things than most opposers that ever rose up against truth and Friends, having been a Quaker, and a preacher among them, near thirty years, and had wrote many books in vindication of truth and Friends; but now falling out, and differing with some of his brethren in Pennsylvania, whither he went some years before, because he could not have his own way in every thing, came over with some of his party, full fraught with contention against the yearly-meeting, 1694. Which difference coming before the meeting, by some letters from beyond sea, which were read in course in the meeting, whereupon George Keith desired to be heard; which, after the other business of the meeting was over, Friends condescended to for several days, to hear him and his party; and Samuel Jennings, &c. on the other side; but hopes to have reconciled the difference before it went any further; but as the prophet (Hos. vii. 1.) said, When I would have healed Israel then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, &c. which may be applied to him; for the more endeavours were used to reconcile him to his brethren, the more his deceit appeared; and the more tenderness any shewed towards

him, the more perverse he was in turning it to a wrong use, and strengthening himself in his opposition. There was no holding what would away, as the proverb is, resolved he was for a breach, by opposing Friends more and more, till he ran himself quite out from among them. Which our Friend Thomas Ellwood observing the bent and tendency of, not only in the yearly-meeting, but after; and how he endeavoured to make divisions among Friends, to divide the heritage of God. He took up his pen again, and wrote an excellent epistle to Friends; briefly commemorating the gracious dealings of the Lord with them; and warning them to beware of that spirit of contention and division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c. which he addresses to Friends, thus:

Dear Friends, whom the Lord hath called with an holy calling; and who, through faithfulness to the heavenly call, are become the chosen of the Lord. It is in my heart, in the openings of the love of God, to send these few lines amongst you, as a salutation of true and hearty love unto you; and in the tendering sense of the Lord's unspeakable goodness unto us; which at this time rests with an affecting weight, upon my spirit, briefly to commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with us, since we have been a people. Which he commemorates as follows.

Great and manifold have been the mercies of our God unto his people, in this his day,

and his loving kindnesses are beyond expressing : when we were young and little, his fatherly care was over us, he preserved us, he nourished us, and caused us to grow up before him. How did he carry his lambs in his bosom, when the beasts of prey roared on every side, seeking to devour ! Who can rehearse the many deliverances he hath wrought for his people, in their passage from spiritual Egypt ! How hath he girded their loins with strength, and covered their heads in the day of battle ! How hath he subdued their enemies before them, and put to flight the armies of alien ! How hath he fed them with bread from heaven, and made them to suck honey out of the rock ! Yea, he hath caused the rock to give forth water abundantly, and hath been to his people as a brook in the way, and the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. So that from a sensible experience we can say, to his praise, our bread hath been sure, and our water hath not failed, as we have singly relied on him. Oh ! his goodness is unutterable, and his faithfulness hath never failed them that have trusted in him : when have we ever been in prison for his sake, and he hath not visited and comforted us there ? What sufferings have any undergone on his account, and he hath not abundantly recompensed the loss ? Nay, hath he not often stopped the mouths of lions, and reprov'd rulers for the sake of his people ; saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm. In all our exercises

he hath been with us, and he hath stood by us in our sorest trials; yea, he hath caused his angel to encamp round about us, so that no weapon formed against us hath prospered; but every tongue that hath risen up against us, the Lord hath given us power to condemn: blessed be his holy name, and exalted and magnified be his glorious power for ever.

These things and much more than I can write, I doubt not, but ye, my dear Friends, are witnesses of; ye especially, my elder brethren, who were called early in the morning of this day, and have stood faithful in your testimony for God until now, who from your own, both early and late experiences can set your seals to the truth hereof; and unto you I do believe this brief commemoration of the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord to his people, will be pleasing and delightful, as I hope it may prove useful and profitable unto us all, in the stirring up of the pure mind, and putting us in fresh remembrance of the Lord's manifold favours towards us, and gracious dealings with us; which should be as a renewed engagement upon us to cleave fast unto the Lord, and in humility of heart, to walk closely with him, both that we may, as far as in us lies, answer his great loving-kindness to us-ward, and receive from him still daily strength and ability to stand, and withstand the assaults and temptations of the enemy, and escape his snares, wherewith he is, at this time, as busy and industrious to be-

tray, and draw aside from the simplicity of the truth, as ever he was.

For Friends, ye know we have a restless adversary to watch against, and to war with; one that sometimes walks about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, and sometimes creeps about, as a subtle serpent, seeking whom he may betray; whom, in each appearance, it is our duty and interest to resist, steadfast in the faith which overcomes. I need not recount unto you, my Friends, the many winds and floods, storms and tempests, of open and cruel persecutions; which this roaring adversary hath often raised, and caused to beat upon us, to have driven us, if possible, from off our foundation; ye cannot have forgotten it, nor that noble arm of the Lord, which was made bare for our preservation, and by preserving us against the most furious shocks, gave evidence even to the world, that we are that people whose house is founded and built upon the immoveable rock Christ Jesus. At this sort of fighting the enemy hath been foiled; which hath made him shift his hand, and like a cunning hunter spread his nets, set his snares; lay his baits, to catch the simple and unwary ones. Thus wrought this subtle enemy in the early times of christianity, sometimes stirring up the rulers, both Jews and Gentiles, to fall, with violent and bloody hands, upon the little flock of Christ; and sometimes in the intermissions of those storms, covering his hooks with the



taking baits of pleasure, profit and preferment; catch some, perhaps of those that had withstood the strongest storm of outward persecution, and made them instruments for himself to work by, to betray others. Such was Diotrephes of old, whose aspiring mind, loving and seeking pre-eminence, laboured to make a schism in the church, prating against even the elders thereof with malicious words, &c. 3. John ix. 10. What mischief the wicked one hath wrought in our day, by such ambitious spirits I need not recount; nor is it pleasing to me to remember, ye know it to your grief, as well as I. But this in all such cases is observable, that such as have made disturbances in the church, and have run into divisions and separations from Friends, have framed to themselves some specious pretence or other, as the inducement to their undertaking, which they have industriously spread abroad, and varnished over with the fairest colours they could, to allure and draw others to join with them, &c.

This with much more to the same purpose, which might be cited, I thought meet to mention, of the mercies of the Lord to his people, and preservation of them from the beginning; well worth the reading. Then recounting the wiles and workings of the enemy, in drawing some aside from the simplicity of the truth, and stirring them up to make divisions, on one pretence or other, to disturb the peace of the church, and hinder the work of the Lord in

the earth, as lately in the separates; so now being disappointed in that, he hath formed a new design in George Keith; yet to shew the difference between the former and this, and consequently the confusion of their pretences, theirs relating to discipline, this to doctrine; they alleged that Friends were gone too much from the inward to the outward; this that Friends were gone too much from the outward to the inward, &c. (for our adversaries seldom agree in their charges.) And so he goes on to examine and compare his books published beyond sea, with those he wrote here, as to the ground of the difference and separation, which he lays at his door, manifesting his deceitful pretences, fallacies, and self-contradictions. Answering his cavils, and confuting his calumnies, that none might be deceived by him. Concluding by way of application and warning to Friends, to beware of the enemy's wiles; which I doubt not had a good effect as to many, in preserving them out of the enemy's snare, who were in danger of being staggered by him.

When our Friend Thomas Ellwood had written this epistle, he went up to London with it, and presented it to the second-day's morning meeting, where such books and writings of Friends, as are intended for the press, use to be read and considered, and read it through in that meeting, and not one Friend, though the meeting was pretty full, shewed any disunity therewith; but approved it, and left it

to him to publish it. And yet George Keith pretended that it was printed in great disunity, and against the mind of many Friends, as though it was only approved and promoted by a party, &c. Which I mention, to shew that he stuck at nothing to make good his part.

Against this book of Thomas Ellwood's, George Keith made a heavy complaint to Friends, to have it called in, as being very injurious to him, (to his cause to be sure.) Poor man! who had wrote so many books against Friends, after he had wrote so many for them, and would not take Friends' advice himself, how then could he expect they should answer him? So that his complaint and clamour not prevailing to stifle it, he takes another way; first putting out a sheet against it, called a Loving Epistle; (but envious enough) in which he charged Thomas Ellwood with fifty per-  
 versions, &c. which he said he had noted in his book; but left his proofs behind to come after; (the first by post, as the proverb is, the second by Tom Long the carrier) in another book which he threatened to publish, if Thomas Ellwood's was not called in and disowned; which not prevailing either, some weeks after he sent forth his threatened book, miscalled, a Seasonable Information, &c. but very unseasonable for himself, as to his reconciliation with Friends; which he pretended he had rather lay down his natural life, or have his right hand cut off, than be disunited or dis-

jointed from. This book he pretended to be an answer to Thomas Ellwood's epistle, and to contain his proofs (such as they were) of the charge he had published before. To both of these our friend Thomas Ellwood replied this year, 1694; in a book entitled, A Further Discovery of that Spirit of Contention and Division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c. wherein his cavils are answered, his falsehood is laid open, and the guilt and blame of the breach and separation in America, &c. are fixed faster on him; written by way of epistle, as the former was, and recommended as a further warning to Friends. Which begins thus :

‘ Dear Friends, who have received the truth in the love of it, and have kept your habitation therein, unto whom the truth is exceeding precious, and who desire the prosperity thereof above all things; unto you is the salutation of my endeared love, in this blessed truth, in which the fellowship of the faithful stands. In this it is I desire to know you, to be known by you, and to have fellowship with you; earnestly breathing to the God of truth, the Father of spirits, that he would be pleased to pour forth more abundantly of his good spirit into all our hearts, and fill us with the blessed fruits thereof, that there may be no room for the enemy to enter, to break this holy fellowship; but that all who profess to believe in the light, may so walk therein, that a clear sight they may have

thereby, and a true discerning between things that differ, and may be able to make a right judgment what is of God, and what is not; that so the design of that spirit, by whatsoever instrument it works, which would break or disturb the church's peace, and cast reproach upon the heritage of God, may be so discovered and laid open, that all may see and shun it. As this is the exercise and travel of my spirit, so it is the service I have been of late, and am at present engaged in. For Friends, it is not many months since I saluted you with an epistle, wherein my spirit was drawn forth, briefly to commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with his people; and as in a general way, to remind you of the many attempts the enemy hath made, by force and fraud, to hinder the work of God from going on; so more particularly to warn you to beware of that spirit of contention and division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, and some few others that joined with him; who have made a separation from Friends in some parts of America. In writing that epistle I did not consult flesh and blood, neither had I an eye to my own ease and quiet outwardly; for I had no reason to expect rest from so restless a man, nor fair treatment from one, who in his late writings and personal debates, hath so notoriously let loose his pen and tongue, to an unbridled liberty of railing and reviling. But I cleared my conscience, in discharging my duty to God, and to his

church, and therein have that peace, which all his abuses cannot disturb.'

And so he proceeds to clear himself of the perversions, &c. which George Keith charged him with, and answers all his cavils against his book ; manifesting his deceit, evasions and sophistry so effectually, that I do not find that George Keith ever replied to it ; being answered home, and having enough, I suppose of the controversy with Thomas Ellwood ; for though our friend Thomas answered several other of G. Keith's books afterwards, (of which hereafter) he never replied to any of them, which shews he had enough of it.

At the end of this book of George Keith's, John Raunce came forth again, with a new slander against Thomas Ellwood, (all his old ones being baffled) reflecting on him about the burial of his father, as if it had not been, decently done ; which however was false. George Keith's mean mind, it seems, could not resist John Raunce's slight offer, to take off an hundred of his books ; but rather glad of any help to run down his opponent, if he could with slander ; which he found he could not do with arguments. But had George Keith been a man of any worthiness, says Thomas Ellwood, or his cause defensible, he would not, though an adversary, have suffered John Raunce to have added his abusive piece to the end of his book, to throw dirt at his opponent. And had John Raunce been a manly adversary, he would have scorned to have

crept in at the tail of another's book, to renew his slander, no way relating to the subject of the book, when Thomas Ellwood's Fair Examination had lain a twelve-month at his door unanswered. But to creep behind such a mickle man as George Keith was taken to be, John Raunce perhaps might count it no disgrace to repeat his slander, which Thomas Ellwood had answered in his postscript to the Fair Examination; and for a final stroke to it, he produces certificates from those who were concerned about his father, at the time of his death and interment, that he was decently buried; which may be seen at the end of this book, in reply to George Keith. Which put an end to all those lying stories raised concerning the dead, to asperse the living; to the shame and confusion of all the inventors and fomenters of them. The man was dead and in his grave, and there should have rested without envy or detraction; and I am only sorry he seemed to retain his aversion to his son for the truth's sake, which he received in his early days. To the honour of which I attribute it, that he was preserved, and carried through and over all opposition, and lived in reputation and renown to his dying day.

1695. His next book is entitled Truth defended, and the Friends thereof cleared, from the false Charges, foul Reproaches, and envious Cavils cast upon it and them, by George Keith, an apostate from them, in two Books by him lately published; one called A true

Copy of a Paper delivered into the Yearly-Meeting, &c.; the other, The pretended Yearly-Meeting's nameless Bull of Excommunication, &c. In which last, George Keith gives an account of his coming to the yearly-meeting, (1695) and of his entertainment in it when admitted, (as if he had never been there before) viz. that he was allowed to sit at the great square table among the ministers and commissioners, as he calls them that could hold about it either fully or near double; the number of twenty-four; whether by allusion to the twenty-four seats and elders, mentioned Rev. iv; but doubling the number, he doth not determine; adding, I think it suits not their crying out so much as they were wont, against chief seats in the synagogues; to erect such a stately fabrick in their meeting-house, at that time, little differing from the manner of a throne, but that it is low upon the floor, covered with green cloth. All which only serves to shew his own pageantry; and which our Friend Thomas Ellwood corrects him for, according to his deserts. For the table will hold few more than twenty-four, or twenty-eight at most, and only necessary to lay books and papers on and write upon.

In the beginning of this book, our friend Thomas Ellwood resumes the controversy from the beginning, shows the rise of the difference, and proceedings thereupon, in relation to George Keith, particularly after his coming into England, in the beginning of 1694; and



how he came to be disowned by the yearly-meeting in 1695, for his rejecting the advice of the former, and opposite carriage thereunto; which being so excellent to the matter in hand, and setting the controversy in a clear light, I shall here insert it, which begins thus:

‘It is an old observation, That none prove more angry and implacable enemies to any society of people, than those that, for their disorders and unruly behaviour, have been disowned by the society they once were of; a certain vindictive enmity usually getting up in such, and stirring them up to load that society by which they were denied, with all the reproach and infamy they can; thereby both gratifying a revengeful spirit in themselves, and thinking also, by recriminating others, to extenuate at least their own crimes. That thus it was in the early times of christianity, may be gathered from the writings of the apostles, particularly 2 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Pet. ii. 1 John ii. 18, &c. 3 John 9, &c. Jude ver. 4. Among those in this age whom Satan hath drawn to this degree of malice and malignity, George Keith, a Scotchman, is the latest, but not the least; whether with respect to his anger, or his envy. He, having been bred a scholar, before he came amongst the people called Quakers, and having acquired more of school-learning than most (it may be in his own opinion, than any) of that people have, hath given in himself, a demonstrative proof of the apostle’s proposition, 1 Cor. viii. 1. Know,

ledge puffeth up, where edifying charity is not joined with it. For human knowledge is apt of itself to lift up men's minds, that have, or think they have it, in any degree of eminency; and makes them think better of themselves than of others, or than themselves deserve; whereas, true charity useth knowledge to instruct, and thereby builds up; not to puzzle and confound, and thereby destroy others; but that charity this man not having, but being vainly puffed up in his fleshly mind, from a proud conceit of his own abilities; and residing in America, among a plain people, who better understood plain and simple truth, than the nice distinctions and subtilties of the schools; and there advanced to the office of a schoolmaster, with a standing salary, as I have been informed, of an hundred and twenty pounds per year, he soon began, like Diotrophes of old, (3 John ix. 10.) to affect pre-eminence in the church; and nothing less would serve his turn, than to rule and over-rule all. And that he might not want matter to work upon, and some pretence to begin on, he not only found fault with Friends' ministry and discipline there, but having, in private discourses, put some captious and ensnaring questions to some particular persons there, whose simplicity he thought he might most easily betray, he, by wresting their answers to a wrong sense, took advantage to complain against them, for holding, as he said, gross and vile errors; and with impetuous heat, pro-

secuted his charge; and not being so fully nor speedily answered as he expected, by those Friends to whom he complained, who seeing the innocency of the accused; and his evil design in accusing, could not countenance him therein; he involved them also in the like charge of cloaking, or covering gross and vile errors, damnable heresies and doctrines of devils, &c. Nor gave he over, till by continual clamours and frequent disturbances, he had filled Friends' meetings with strife and contention; and at length having leavened a party to himself, made an open division and separation from Friends, setting up separate meetings for himself and his party, in opposition to the meetings of Friends before settled there. And having got the printer to his party; and thereby the only press there, at his command, he maliciously put the difference into print, and thereby spread it not only in those parts of America, but in Europe also. These things drew Friends there, after much patience and long forbearance, to deal with him in a church-way, and to give forth, at length, a testimony against him; which proving uneasy to him, he came over from thence to England, about the beginning of the year 1694; of which some Friends of Pennsylvania having notice, came over also; and at the yearly meeting of the people called Quakers, held at London in the fourth Month that year, the matters relating to that difference being fully heard and considered, the sense of that meeting was;

That the separation lay at George Keith's door; and that he had done ill, in printing and publishing those differences as he had done. And the advice of the meeting to him thereupon was, To call in those books of his, or publish something innocently and effectually to clear the body of the people called Quakers, and their ministers, from those gross errors charged on some few in America; and retract the bitter language in them, so far as he was concerned; and sincerely to use his utmost endeavours with his friends concerned to remove the separation, &c. Which sense and advice being drawn up at large in writing, was then in that meeting delivered to him, and soon after printed by one of his party, with very envious reflections upon it, as may be seen in a small pamphlet, called a True Account, &c. to which I refer. But so far was George Keith from regarding the sense, or following the advice of that yearly-meeting, that in several printed books by him soon after published, he rejected it, denying it to be the sense or advice of the yearly-meeting, or that to be the yearly-meeting that gave it. Which abuse this last yearly-meeting, in the third month past, taking notice of, and upon further dealing with him, finding him, instead of being humbled and sorry for the evil he had done, more hardened therein, justifying himself both by word and writing, and rejecting the meeting's advice; that meeting, after it had heard him patiently, till he of his own ac-

cord withdrew, gave forth a testimony against him, which he hath since printed, with his answer thereunto. As he hath also, in another pamphlet, a copy of his paper which he read in the meeting; together, with a narrative (of his own making) of the proceedings of the meeting with him, and a list of the errors charged by him on some particular persons. To each of these I intend to speak, now that I have premised this short introduction;—which I thought needful for the information of any such reader, as had not before heard the rise of the difference, nor the course of proceedings thereupon.

This I thought fit to insert, being so material as to the ground of the controversy with George Keith; after which Thomas Ellwood proceeds to answer all his cavils in his said two books or papers. And shews that by his disorderly practices, he had excluded himself from our society, before Friends disowned him. So leaving him without excuse, and the weight of his iniquity upon his own head; which he could never get from under, but waxed worse and worse, as evil men and seducers use to do; so that truth was set over his head, and Friends were clear of him.

1696. But now another occasion offered, viz. a person by the name of Gerard Croese, a Dutchman, publishing a general history (so called) of the Quakers; containing the lives, tenets, sufferings, trials, speeches and letters, as pretended, of the most eminent of them; first

in Latin; which was translated and printed in English this year. Wherein, though he had represented some things pretty fairly, yet in others, through inadvertency or ignorance, (I hope not wilfully) he had misrepresented us, and our principles and practices; whereupon our friend Thomas Ellwood, according to an advertisement at the end of the said history, in English, that some remarks on it would be published, wrote some remarks on it in Latin, perhaps before the English edition came out, which would no doubt have been translated into English; intending, doubtless, to publish them, but in the mean time, before they were finished, a book of the same nature, and to the same purpose, in Latin, was published in Holland, by way of remarks or observations on the said history, which seemed again to circumvent him in his intended remarks on it, so that he laid them by, and never finished them; and so the world was deprived of this piece also.

But now George Keith being gone out from the fellowship of the faithful, and hardened in his enmity against Friends, he arrived to the top or height of opposition. He had been playing small stakes hitherto, but now came to throw all at once. In order to which, he erected a stage of contention at Turner's-hall, in Philpot-lane, London, where he had held separate meetings for some time before, to oppose Friends in general, under pretence of discovering divers errors out of the Quakers books, that were never in them, and publish-

ed an advertisement of a meeting he intended to hold there, in the fourth Month, 1696, to discover the Quakers' errors; though he had been one so long himself, and vindicated them, as to all they could object against, and yet now came to accuse them himself; but Friends slighted him, not thinking it worth their while to follow him, or dance after his pipe to Turner's-hall. Of which contentious meeting he afterwards published a narrative, which our friend Thomas Ellwood answered this year, in a book entitled, an Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turner's-hall, &c. wherein his charges against divers of the people called Quakers, (in that and another book of his, called Gross Errors, &c.) are fairly considered, examined and refuted. And he made his title good in a close answer, and entire confutation of all his cavils against our Friends' books; which, because I have given the preambles or introductions of his former, to illustrate the matter, I shall also, in like manner, introduce this with his general account of the controversy, by way of introduction to his answer, being so pertinent to the case in hand, for the reader's better information and satisfaction; which follows,—beginning thus :

‘It is not, surely, without good reason, that the church of Christ, here on earth, is called the church militant: for, besides the inward and spiritual enemies, which her several members have to encounter with, in their pilgrim-

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age through this troublesome world, such hath been, and is her lot and portion, that she hath rarely been free from outward enemies of one kind or other; her great adversary, Satan; continually raising up some evil instruments or other to fall upon her; all aiming at her ruin, though after divers ways and manners. Sometimes the civil powers, under which she hath lived, have been stirred up to proclaim, as it were, open war against her, and to inflict severe and heavy penalties upon her, for her faithful adherence to her Lord and master, Christ Jesus. When through faith and patience, she hath overcome, and the wrath and fury of men hath been assuaged, so that she hath had some respite from those outward sufferings, then hath her old adversary, the common enemy of mankind, bestirred himself in another way, to raise up persecution against her of another kind, by instigating some or other, either such as were always avowed enemies to her, or such as for some time appeared to be of her, but by the sweep of his tail had been struck off from her, to speak or write against her, falsely to accuse her, and load her with the foulest reproaches, and most infamous slanders and scandals, that by so misrepresenting her, they might hinder others from joining to, or favouring her, and stir up the civil magistrate again, to persecute her afresh. This hath been the lot, this the condition of the little flock of Christ in former ages, as ecclesiastical histories declare. As for the present age, and with respect to the peo-



ple called Quakers, whom God, by an invisible arm of power, hath raised up and held up, and made a peculiar people to himself, experience gives sufficient proof, the matter being yet fresh in memory. For, (not to look back so far as that which was called the commonwealth's time, wherein many of the leading men, in most professions, put forth their utmost strength against us, both in preaching and printing, raising those false reports concerning us, and charging many false accusations upon us, with respect both to doctrine and practice, which others of our adversaries, that followed after, have taken upon trust from them) no sooner was that great persecution a little abated, which soon after the restoration of king Charles the second, through the fault of some dissenters, fell upon all, but most heavily upon us, and that a little calm and quiet ensued; but out came several books against us, written by some of those professors, who either in some measure did suffer, or if they had been faithful to their own principle, should have suffered in the same storm with us. By that time the dust, which those books had raised, was laid, by our answers thereunto, a fresh persecution from the government arose, upon the informing act, the main weight of which, it is well known, fell upon us; they who before and afterwards assaulted us in print, finding ways then to hide and save themselves from suffering. But when that storm was a little over, out they came again, and in

divers books, written by Faldo, Hicks, and others, heaped up many wrong charges, defamations, slanders and false accusations against us; all which were refuted, and wiped off in our books, printed in answer thereunto; nor have those of other professions been so forward to attack us since. But now that liberty of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship, is by authority granted, and thereby outward sufferings in a great measure abated, our old enemy envying us so great a benefit, though but in common with others, hath contrived ways and means to raise a new war against us, by stirring up some who have formerly walked with us, and for some time professed to be of us, but upon some peevish discontent or other have turned aside and left us, to turn now against us, and oppose us, and to pour forth floods of reproach, slanders and false accusations upon us. His chief agent, at present, in this work, is George Keith, a Scotchman, whose ambitious aims not being answered, nor his absurd and fantastical notions received by and amongst the people called Quakers, he is now become of a seeming friend, a real enemy. He having published many books against us; and in defence of those books wrangled with us for a while in print, till he found himself too closely pinched, to be able to give an answer fit to be seen in print, hath at length bethought himself of a wile, to excuse himself from answering; which was to set up a kind of judicial

court, of his own head, and by his own authority, in a place at his own command, on a day of his own appointing, there to charge and try divers of us who are called Quakers, whether present or absent, concerning matters of faith and doctrine ; and that the rude multitude might not be wanting to his assistance there, he gave publick notice of it some time before, by an advertisement in print, and therein a sort of summons to some of us by name, to others by designation, to be present. This arbitrary proceeding, and usurped authority, as we judged it unreasonable in him to impose, so we did not think fit to submit to, or own, and therefore forbore to appear at the time and place by him appointed. Yet lest any whom he should draw thither, might mistake the cause of our not appearing, the reasons thereof, drawn up in short heads, were sent thither to be read, and given among the people, which they were. However, according to his before declared intention, to proceed whether any of us were there or no, he being judge in his own court, over-ruled our reasons, and went on to arraign, and convict us absent. The pageantry of which day's work, as acted there by himself, he hath since published, with his name to it, under the title of an Exact Narrative of the Proceedings at Turner's-hall, &c. Together with the Disputes and Speeches there, between George Keith, and other Quakers, differing from him in some Religious Principles. How idle is this in him, to pre-

tend in his title to give account of disputes and speeches between him and other Quakers, when, as his narrative itself gives no account of any dispute there, nor any thing like it; and of that little that was said by any of those few Quakers that were present, most was to the people (tending to shew them the unreasonableness of his undertaking, and desiring them to reserve one ear for the other side) very little of it to him.'

Then he goes on to shew George Keith's falsehood, in calling it an exact narrative, and yet not inserting the reasons why our Friends did not appear, which he confesses were read, and his fallacies in evading them; which therefore Thomas Ellwood sets down and obviates George Keith's quibbles on them; so proceeds to answer his narrative; clearing the quotations he brought out of our Friends' books, from his perversions, being either unfairly or falsely quoted, or perverted in their sense, to what they never intended; according to his carping and cavilling way. Vindicating the soundness of their doctrine, shewing George Keith's self-contradictions, in opposing what he had so often vindicated as orthodox, and yet pretending to hold the same doctrines and principles still; and laying open his deceit, falsehood and prevarications so plainly and effectually, that George Keith never replied to it; and good reason why, because he could not to the purpose, being answered home, and defeated in all his vile pretences, envious cavils, and false accusations.

But being pinched and driven to a nonplus; by quotations out of his own books, in favour of what he opposed (which he could not answer,) wherein he had asserted or defended the same doctrines and principles, in as plain or higher words, which he now blamed Friends for as gross errors, &c. Which yet he would not allow to be so in himself, but palliated them under the soft term of mistakes. Saying, (Narrative, p. 15,) 'I know' not any fundamental principle, nor indeed any one principle of Christian faith, that I have varied from to this day, ever since I came among the Quakers, which is about thirty-three years ago.'—And in his preface to his Narrative, p. 6, he says, the things (he does not call them errors, nor hardly ever uses the word error with respect to himself and his own writings) that need correction in my books, compared with the vile errors in theirs, are but as my motes to their beams : nor are they such things as oppose any christian principles of faith, but of an inferior nature ; and yet they were as full in the points as any he could cite out of ours. And in the true copy of a paper, printed 1694 ; where, in p. 17, he faintly intimates a purpose to publish some short explication, &c. of some words and passages in his former books. He adds, for upon a review of my former books, I freely acknowledge, I have found some passages and words, that not only need some further explanation, but even in some parts an emendation and correction. How gently doth he touch

himself? says Thomas Ellwood; how softly doth he handle his own sores? Not a syllable of errors or heresy there; no, the hardest word he can afford to give them, is his former mistakes. And lest the reader should extend them too far, he explains it in the next page, saying, 'Upon the most impartial search I have made, I find not any cause to correct either my judgment or books, as touching any of the great doctrines and principles of the christian religion; nor do I know that I am of another faith in any one principle of christian doctrine, contrary to what I believed ever since I went under the profession of a Quaker, so called.' With much more to the same purpose.

Thus partial was he to himself, notwithstanding his loud clamours and outcries of vile errors against the Quakers, for the same things he had held himself, which yet were no errors in him; such a hypocrite was he to dissemble with God and man. So that when he found his doctrines compared with what he accused Friends of, and saw they were the same, or parallel, it was to no purpose for him to go to vindicate or clear himself of what was so notorious; and therefore procured another, or at least he undertook it for him, under disguise of the Snake in the Grass. And so to slide by the quotations out of his books, that lay in his way; which would have been a shame for George Keith to do, (a Snake in the Grass indeed) pretending in his preface, that it was not meant as a defence of George Keith, any

further than he defended the truth of the christian faith ; for which reason, says he, I have wholly omitted all the personal reflections cast upon him, and the contradictions which Thomas Ellwood pretends to find in his former books, while he was a Quaker of their communion; to the doctrine he now sets up in opposition to them. And so gave the go-by to whatever pinched him ; which was the design, as Thomas Ellwood observes, to help George Keith off at a dead lift, from his manifold and manifest self-contradictions, which it was impossible for him to reconcile or defend ; and because it had been as absurd for him to have undertaken a reply to Thomas Ellwood's answer, and not have attempted to acquit himself of those contradictions charged upon him therein, as it would have been impossible for him to have cleared himself of them. Therefore, this contrivance was found out, that another, or perhaps he in a mask, under the disguise of another; for Satan, though disrobed from his disguise of light, has many black robes and dark disguises to put on, should undertake the task of replying, (for a task it seems it was) upon such a foot, and under such circumstances, as might give him some colourable pretence to wave the contradictions, and wholly to omit them, and with them whatsoever else he found too hard to meddle with.

1697. So that any one might plainly see this was a contrivance, as our friend Thomas Ellwood observes, to help George Keith out

at a dead lift. To which book of the Snake's, Thomas Ellwood wrote an answer, though he did not quite finish it, or publish it. Of which, and that controversy, he gives the following account.

‘This controversy, begun by George Keith, upon a pick he took against the people called Quakers, because they could not answer his ambitious desire of rule, nor receive some wild and fantastical notions of his, has been earried on by him, in his own name, till he could go no further. The doctrines he condemns us for as erroneous and heretical, have been either so clearly cast off by us as slanders, or so rivetted on himself by undeniable instances and proofs taken out of his own books, that having foreclosed his way to a retraction of them, as shall be shewed anon, he had no way left, but as his last resource, to put the cause into another's hand; to carry it on under the disguise of another person; which brought to my mind the fable of Achelous, who being too weak for his antagonist in fair force, was fain to shift from one shape to another; first to that of a snake, then to that of a bull, and is thereupon brought in by the poet; saying,

*Inferior virtute meas divortor ad artes,  
Elaborque viro longum formatus in anguem, &c.*

*Metam. lib. 9. fab. 1.*

*In strength too weak, I to my wiles betake,  
And slide from man, into a twining snake.*



‘ Somewhat a like crafty course has George Keith taken ; who finding himself over pressed the last year with books, which he knew not how to answer, got, as was supposed, an adjutant of his to publish a book against us under disguise, without a name to it, and with the very title of the Snake in the Grass ; thereby to have diverted us from pursuing the controversy, then and still in hand with him. But when he found that would not do, (for the design was seen) he roared against us like a bull, at Turner’s-hall, in the month called June, 1696, and afterwards in his narrative thereof. The answer to that, which soon followed, has it seems, involved him in such difficulties, that he hath not thought fit to appear against it in his own shape ; but either assuming another person, or turning over his broken forces, with the united forces of the whole party, to the hissing author of the Snake, they have amongst them, lately thrust forth another book, as a reply to that answer of mine to George Keith’s Narrative ; this, without a name too, and said to be written by the author of the Snake in the Grass, is called Satan Disrobed from his Disguise of Light. But the observant reader will find cause enough, I think, to conclude, that whoever wrote it, was fully enrobed in Satan’s over-guise and proper dress of darkness ; from the many bitter and scornful invectives therein used against the light.

And for the controversy itself he remarks ;

‘ 1. That the matters therein charged upon us, are generally the same that have been charged on us heretofore, by Faldo, Hicks, and other adversaries, and always refuted over and over, both formerly and of late.

‘ 2. That the things they charge on us, as errors and heresy, are not pretended to be proved by any plain express positions or assertions of ours; but from our adversaries’ own perverse meanings, and wrested constructions of our words; always denied and rejected by us.

‘ 3. That the words and passages brought by our adversaries for proof of their charges against us, are not taken out of our doctrinal treatises, or declarations of faith and principles; but, for the most part, out of controversial books; wherein, oft times, the scope and aim of the author is, not so much to assert or express his own principles or doctrines, as to impugn and expose his adversaries; by shewing the contradictions, absurdities, and ill consequences of his adversaries’ opinions; from whence, positively to conclude the author’s own judgment, is neither safe nor fair.

‘ 4. That however any of our former adversaries might have been misled in their judgments concerning us, George Keith, who hath now moved this controversy against us, knows full well, that we do not hold those things either generally as a people, or as particular persons, which he has charged on us as

errors. As a people he has clearly acquitted us from them, in his preface to his Narrative, p. 6, where he says, I charge them not, either upon the generality, far less upon the universality of all them called Quakers. For particular persons, hear what he says of George Whitehead; one of the principal butts he shoots at, Narrative, p. 16, where having charged him with denying that Christ in heaven has any bodily existence without us, being conscious that George Whitehead did not so hold, but that he had therein abused him, he immediately adds, if he, George Whitehead, has said otherwise in any of his late printed books, I am glad of it. And a line lower, there is a George Whitehead orthodox, and a George Whitehead not orthodox. He is, in this and some other things, orthodox and not orthodox; and a little further, I own it, that I have cited divers passages out of his later books, that are orthodox, to prove him sound. What can be made of all this, but that George Whitehead was orthodox and sound in his own both intentions and expressions; not orthodox in George Keith's perverse and false constructions? And whereas he harps upon the word later books, thereby to insinuate as if George Whitehead had of late altered his judgment. He has cut off that also in his Narrative, p. 38, where he gives an account, that in the year 1678, which was eighteen years ago, some, whom he would not name, questioning him about some principles in a book of his, both George White-

head and William Penn took part with him against them, though those principles, as he calls them, which he says he was then questioned about, were of the same nature with some of those he now charges upon them as errors. From whence it appears, that he found them then, as well as now, sound and orthodox in those principles.

‘ 5. That as this controversy lies properly and directly between George Keith and us, and that he being baffled in it, and driven to a *ne plus ultra* on his own part, hath contrived to carry it on under disguise, by the assistance of another (yet without a name,) who under pretence of indifferency, and being unconcerned with or for George Keith, should drop the quotations I had loaded him with, out of his own books against himself, and thereby free him, if he could, from those pinching dilemmas which lay against him, and draw Dun, as the proverb is, out of the mire he was plunged into, so to obviate and disappoint the design. That I may not suffer myself to be bubbled by such artificial shams, but that the controversy may be kept, as much as may be, upon its first bottom, I have thought fit in this rejoinder so to order the matter, as not to let George Keith slip away, which I perceive he would fain do, while I am contending with, I know not whom in this quarrel. Therefore, as I pass through the several heads of the controversy, I purpose not only to answer the most material cavils of the present

adversary; but withal to repeat, some at least of those passages, that lay so heavy upon George Keith, and settle (not to use his own smithing metaphors of clinching and rivetting) them faster on him; to the end, that both the reader may more plainly see the true reason why George Keith did not himself reply in his own name, to my answer to his narrative, and George Keith may know that I expect it from him, and in the mean time look upon him but as a baffled, shifting adversary.

‘He begins his epistle with telling his reader, that his reply is short in comparison of the answer. Therein he and I agree, but in words rather than in meaning; for he means in number of pages, I mean in truth and fair dealing, in which I am confident the indifferent reader will find his reply short indeed; and even as to bulk, upon due consideration, the disproportion is not so great as he would represent it, for his book is rather more than half as big as mine, though he replies not to the tenth part of the matter contained in mine. He makes nothing of skipping over ten or fifteen pages at a time, so nimble heeled he is.’ [And yet this is the man that cautioned the Quakers, that if they answered his book (Snake, 3d edit. p. 344.) that they would reply distinctly, and not answer a book as rats do, by nibbling at some corners of the leaves, stealing through it like moths, to no other purpose than to deface some words at a venture; who yet could reply thus slightly

himself.] 'Nay, in his first page, he throws off no less than twenty-five pages at once, and barely mentioning, in less than nine lines, a few words contained in some of them, without a syllable of reply thereto, sets in his margin, reply to the first twenty-three pages; and yet he hath the confidence to miscall his book, and that even in the same page, a full reply; he might better have called it a foul and false reply to Thomas Ellwood's answer. And in his epistle, says, he has omitted nothing that is material. I suppose he means, that he has omitted nothing which he thought might tend to abuse and defame the Quakers and me; for that he has omitted the most material parts of my book, and thrust in many passages, idle, impertinent, false, and wholly foreign to the subject; only that he might misrepresent, ridicule, and slander us, as I shall have occasion hereafter, by plenty of instances, to show.'

I might cite a great deal more to explicate this controversy, and shew their disingenuity in it; but by this we may judge what a reply this of the Snake's was, and by this taste, (to use his own words at the end of the Snake) the reader may guess what a plentiful meal we might have had, if Thomas Ellwood had published his rejoinder; but that, as I said, he did not; for what reason I cannot justly assign. For though our friend George Whitehead, in his answer to the Snake in the Grass, wrote also a brief Examination of some passages in the said book of the Snake's, styled Satan dis-

robed, &c. as being concerned therein; yet he referred to a further answer by Thomas Ellwood, p. 186, judging it 'No fair reply to Thomas Ellwood's answer; and so it appears says he, and I expect will be made further appear, if Thomas Ellwood deems it worth the while to undertake it;' which he did, and wrote twenty-seven sheets in order thereto; and why he should be prevented from publishing it, by George Whitehead's Brief Examination, I do not see, being much larger and fuller; but perceive he was so modest, that he was apt to be put by of his work, if any other put in before him; as will further appear on another occasion hereafter. And so I shall leave it, hoping however one time or other, to see this, and some other of his posthumous works published by themselves, as they well deserve.

And here our friend dropped his pen, till another occasion offered.

And that was next or at least the next he laid hold on, after a vacancy of two or three years, on this occasion.

1698. Some angry priests in Norfolk, on our Friends having a meeting near one of them, and truth spreading to their regret, they challenged a dispute with some of our Friends at West-Deerham in that county, the 8th of the 10th mo, 1698, where some of our Friends appearing, and answering them, so disappointed the priests in their envious designs in the said dispute, that they afterwards promoted

two petitions against our Friends to the parliament, one from Norfolk, the other from Suffolk, to stir up persecution against them, that what they could not do by arguments, they might by force. To which two petitions our friend Thomas Ellwood, having obtained copies of them, wrote a sober reply on behalf of the people called Quakers, to two petitions against them, the one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in Suffolk; being some brief observations upon them, &c. printed 1699, manifesting their mischievous machinations against the truth and Friends; which, with some other discouragements, through the labour and industry of Friends at London, in attending the parliament; and delivering printed papers; particularly, a few considerations humbly offered to the members of parliament, to obviate some evil jealousies and designs against the people called Quakers, so quashed their malicious purposes, that their petitions were never delivered to, or received by the parliament; but fell and came to nothing, and their evil designs were frustrated, Friends were preserved, and truth prospered over their heads.

1699. About this time also, our friend William Penn being gone to Pennsylvania, in the 7th mo. this year, and George Keith continuing his opposition against truth and Friends, sometimes more general at Turner's-Hall, where, as the course of his delirious distemper returned (as Joseph Wyeth observes, in his answer to his advertisement this year) he



held his contentious meetings, once a year, to pick passages out of our Friends' books to cavil at, though he could not answer nor clear himself of Thomas Ellwood's, or others that were wrote against him. And sometimes more particularly against single persons, especially William Penn, against whom he chose to vent his malice above most others; especially now in his absence, making him the butt of his indignation; and published two books against him, one called *The Deism of William Penn and his Brethren, &c.* This our friend Thomas Ellwood undertook to answer, and made a considerable progress in it, in a large book, of between thirty and forty sheets, which I shall cite some of, beginning thus :

“ We read of one in former times, who, because he had given up himself to do evil, was said to have sold himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, 1 Kings xxi. 20, and 25. Whether George Keith hath directly sold himself, or only let himself out to hire, I will not undertake to determine; but evident it is, that since he crept into the interest of that which is called the church of England, and become a mercenary hackney to some of the clergy, he hath laid out himself, with his utmost vigour, to work wickedness, not only in the sight of the Lord, but in the sight of the sun; asserting, defending, maintaining, and upholding divers both doctrines and practices in religion, which upon a declared full conviction, and from a professed assurance of di-

vine openings, and immediate guidance of the holy spirit; he had before not only renounced, but declared and written against, as false, superstitious, if not idolatrous, and antichristian; and to fill up his measure of iniquity, and heap it up that it might run over, he hath not only, to gratify his supporters, shot his unadvised bolts at the several other bodies of Protestant dissenters, but, in an especial manner, and in a most virulent, and to him peculiar style, hath evomited floods, not of reproach only, and bitter revilings, but of the most malicious slanders and falsehoods that ever, perhaps, were poured from the pulpit, or squeezed through the press against the people called Quakers, whom once he owned for his brethren, and with whom he professed to hold communion for more than thirty years. Herein he hath exceeded good Joseph of old in his liberality, but in another kind; that good man bestowed a fivefold-mess of his good things on his brother Benjamin, as a token of his peculiar and abundant love to him. This bad man has bestowed double and treble that proportion of his evil things on us: the effect of his peculiar and super-abundant hatred to us, to say nothing here of his railing rhetoric and bitter invectives against us, wherewith he hath profaned the pulpit, which lie under the just censure of the more discreet and well-minded of his auditors. An instance of his malice and injustice from the press, is a late book of his, now lying before me, called, the Deism

of William Penn and his Brethren, destructive to the Christian Religion, exposed, &c. The word *deism* being somewhat an uncommon term, may not, perhaps, be readily understood by every reader. As it has been opposed to atheism, it has been taken in a good sense; but as it is now used, it is taken in an ill sense, as importing an acknowledgment, or owning of God only, or of the Godhead; but not of Christ, with respect to his incarnation, or being manifest in the flesh, for the redemption of man; so that to charge any one now with deism, is to charge him with denying that Christ is come, and hath suffered in the flesh. Now herein both George Keith's injustice and malice, is the greater, in charging William Penn, and his brethren the Quakers, with deism; inasmuch as he assuredly knows (which some other adversaries have not had the like opportunity to know, as he hath had) by certain experience, drawn by so many years intimate conversation with William Penn and the Quakers, in free and familiar conferences, and in reading their books, that William Penn and the Quakers, both in word and writing, publicly and privately, have always, and on all occasions confessed, acknowledged, owned as well as believed, the incarnation of Christ, according to the holy scriptures, viz. That the word was made flesh, John i. 14. That when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his son made of a woman, made, under the law, to redeem them that were

under the law, Gal. iv. 4, 5. That Christ Jesus being in the form of God, and ~~thinking~~ <sup>regarding</sup> it no robbery to be equal with ~~God~~, made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, Phil. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures, ~~and~~ that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures, 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4. That he was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification, Rom. iv. 25. That he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world, 1 John 2. 2. That he ascended up far above the heavens, that he might fill all things, Ephes. iv. 10. That he is the one mediator between God and men, 1 Tim. ii. 5. That he is at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us, Rom. viii. 34. And is our advocate with the father, 1 John ii. 1. And that it is he which was ordained of God, to be the judge of quick and dead, Acts x. 42. These things, I say, George Keith certainly knows have been constantly held, believed, professed and owned by William Penn and his brethren the Quakers, in general, both privately and publicly, in word and writing. These things are so often testified of in our meetings, and have been so fully and plainly asserted, and

held forth in our books, that we might call in almost as many witnesses thereof, as have frequented our meetings, or attentively read our books.

The book of William Penn's, called a Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Life, (to which George Keith's Deism is an answer) George Keith tells us in his preface, was first printed in the year 1673, as an appendix to William Penn's part of the Christian Quaker, a folio book, in two parts; the former written by William Penn, the latter by George Whitehead. In that former part of the Christian Quaker, written by William Penn, though the tendency of it is to assert and defend the divinity of Christ, and his spiritual appearance, by his divine light in the hearts of men; yet there is enough said concerning his manhood, his outward appearance, and sufferings in the flesh, to free William Penn from the imputation or suspicion of deism.—In p. 101, William Penn says, Notwithstanding the same light and life, with that which afterwards clothed itself with that outward body, did in measure, inwardly appear for the salvation of the souls of men; yet, as I have often said, never did that life so eminently put forth itself, to that end, as in that sanctified and prepared body; so that what he then suffered and did, in that transcendent manifestation, may, by way of eminency, assume the whole work unto itself, that he ever did before, or might do afterwards. Page 102, His righteous life, with

respect to its appearance in that body, was grieved by sin, and the weight of the iniquity of the whole world, with the concernment of its eternal well-being, lay hard upon him; nor was his manhood insensible of it; under the load of this, did he travel; he alone trod the wine-press, &c.—Not that we would irreverently rob the holy body of whatsoever acknowledgment is justly due, nor yet separate what God joined, p. 104.—Chap. 21. A confession in particular, to Christ's redemption, remission, justification and salvation.—Which was actually to the salvation of some, and intentionally of the whole world.—As there was a necessity that one should die for the people; so whoever then, or since, believed in him, had, and have a seal, or confirmation of the remission of their sins in his blood. This grand assurance of remission do all receive, in the ratifying blood of Christ, who repenting of their sins, believe and obey the holy light, with which he hath illuminated them.—Page 107. But there is yet a further benefit that accrues by the blood of Christ, viz. That Christ is a propitiation and redemption, to such as have faith in it: for though I still place the stress of particular benefit upon the light, life and spirit revealed and witnessed in every particular; yet in that general appearance, there was a general benefit, justly to be attributed to the blood of that very body of Christ, to wit, that it did propitiate; for however it might draw stupendous judgments

upon the heads of those who were authors of that dismal tragedy, and died impenitent; yet doubtless, it thus far turned to very great account, in that it was a most precious offering in the sight of the Lord, and drew God's love the more eminently to mankind;—at least, such as should believe in his name; page 108. Doubtless, it did greatly influence, to some singular tenderness and peculiar regard unto all such as should believe in his name, among other his weighty performances; for the sake of that last and greatest of all his external acts, the resisting unto blood, for the spiritual good of the world, thereby offering up his life upon the cross, through the power of the eternal spirit, that remission of sin, God's bounty to the world, might be preached in his name, and in his very blood too, as that which was the most ratifying of all his bodily sufferings. And indeed, therefore might it seem meet to the holy Ghost, that redemption, propitiation and remission, should be declared, and held forth in the blood of Christ, unto all that have a right faith therein; as saith the apostle to the Romans;—because it implies a firm belief, that Christ was come in the flesh, and that none could then have him as their propitiation and redemption, who withstood the acknowledgment of, and belief in his visible appearance; page 110. Faith in his blood was requisite, that they might confess him, whose body and blood it was, to be Christ. To conclude, we confess, he who then appeared,

H h

was and is the propitiation, &c. and in him was redemption obtained by all those, who had such true faith in his blood.

‘ Thus much, and much more which I have omitted, against deism, in that very treatise of William Penn’s, to which, the book out of which George Keith, by his art of counterfeit chymistry, would extract deism, was an appendix ; and yet this was not the direct subject of that treatise, but only touched on occasionally, or by the by : should I gather up all quotations on this argument out of our other books ; such especially as have more directly handled this subject, I might therewith fill a large volume ; to prevent which, I refer the reader to my answer to George Keith’s first narrative of his proceedings at Turner’s-hall, from p. 33 to 63, where he may find this cavil fully confuted. Which answer to his first narrative, may serve for an answer to his other following narratives also ; they for the most part, being but the scraps of his first, heated again, and served up afresh with some new garnish.

‘ It is observable that that book, called a Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Life, was first printed (as George Keith in his preface to his deism takes notice) in the year 1673, which is 27 years ago, and about 20 years before he quite left us ; it appears he had read it in the first impression ; for making as if when he saw the last impression, he did not know but that it was a new book.—So little had I read or



considered the contents of it. Both read it then, it seems he had, and considered the contents of it; and though here he would suggest he had but slightly read it, yet he would not be taken for a heedless reader, or a superficial considerer of what he reads. Now since he held the same doctrine, with respect to the general rule of faith and life, which is laid down by William Penn in that discourse, during the time he was amongst us, and professed himself one of us, as well after the publishing of that book, in the year 1673, as before; and did not only openly defend and maintain that doctrine in public disputations both in England and in Scotland, after the year 1673. But no longer ago than in the year 1692, nineteen years after that book of William Penn's, called a Discourse of the General Rule of Faith and Life, was in print, George Keith in his Serious Appeal, p. 7, says, According to the best knowledge I have of the people called Quakers, and those most generally owned by them, as preachers and publishers of their faith, of unquestioned esteem among them, and worthy of double honour, as many such there are, I know none that are guilty of any one such heresies and blasphemies as thou accusest them; and I think I should know, and do know these called Quakers, better than C. Mather (against whom he then wrote) or any of his brethren; having been conversant with them, in public meetings as well as in private discourse, with the most

noted and esteemed among them, for above twenty-eight years past; and that in many places of the world, in Europe; and for these divers years, in America. I say, all this considered, how will George Keith, upon the charges he now makes against William Penn, acquit himself from having been a professed deist, all the while he was among the Quakers? Yet he himself well knows, that neither he nor William Penn, nor any of the Quakers ever were deists; ever did deny, disown, or disbelieve the coming, incarnation, sufferings and death of Christ, as man outwardly in the flesh, his resurrection, ascension and mediatorship; and he himself has undesignedly acquitted William Penn from his present charge of deism, by a story he told in his first narrative, p. 38. That upon some urging him to give an instance of one English Quaker that he ever heard pray to Christ; William Penn being present, said, I am an Englishman, and a Quaker, and I own I have often prayed to Christ Jesus, even him that was crucified. This, he says, was in the year 1678; which was five years after the publishing of that book, from which he attempts to prove him a deist; that is, a denier of the man Christ Jesus, who was crucified. Judge now, reader, how rank the malice of George Keith must needs be, against William Penn and his brethren the Quakers, who would choose to subject himself with them, to the foul imputation of deism, though in his own conscience, he knows the

charge is false on them, as well as on himself, rather than not gratify his envy and revenge upon them; in this resembling the envious man in the apologue, who desired that he might lose one of his eyes, on condition his neighbour might lose both his."

Whence th' observation rose, a wicked will

Would wound itself, to work another's ill.

1700. But before he had finished this answer, though he had gone about two-thirds through it, Benjamin Coale of Bristol, published a book there, entitled *Honesty the truest Policy*; shewing the sophistry, envy and perversion of George Keith, in his three books, viz. his *Bristol Quakerism*, *Bristol Narrative*, and his *Deism*. On perusal of which, viz. his *Answer to George Keith's Deism*, &c. Thomas Ellwood wrote the following verses:

Indeed, is then the work by me begun,

And which I labour'd at with such good will,

Already, by a readier workman done?

Who nimbleness hath added to his skill!

Well may it thrive, successful may it prove,

Truth's way to clear, and stumbling-blocks remove.

I never was ambitious to appear

In print, nor to myself applause have sought;

With satisfaction therefore, I can bear

What thou design'st, another hand hath wrought:

This supersedes my work. I'm glad to see

Such help come in, that there's no need of me.

This is the third time I have thus been put.

Besides my work, which makes me think, my friend,

H h 2

The controversial door to me is shut,  
 And of my scribbling service there's an end.  
 If so, content, I can with pleasure see  
 The work well done, although not done by me.

*11th Month 17th, 1700.*

The three times he was put besides his work, of which, he says, this was the third; the other two, I suppose, were, his Remarks on Gerard Croese's History of the Quakers. And his Answer to the Snake in the Grass, his book called Satan Disrobed. Both before mentioned.

However, this of Benjamin Coale anticipating his answer to the deism, he laid it by and never finished it; thinking perhaps, the other, though far short of his, might suffice at present for an answer thereto; and so we were deprived of his labour in this respect also; which yet I hope, one time or other, may be published for the service of truth; which it is a pity the world should be deprived of.

1701. His next service, upon a general foot, which I find any footsteps of, was on this occasion. One John Shockling, a priest of Ash, near Sandwich, in Kent, having got some of the Snake's books, set up for an opposer, or disputant, about water baptism, and sends a paper to John Love, called a Question upon those Words in Matthew xxviii. 19. Go ye

therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Whether the apostles were not commanded by them to baptize with water? This paper and question our friend Thomas Ellwood answered in the fourth month, 1701, very much to the purpose. To which the priest being unwilling to take an answer, and let it drop so, replying, (I might say, to little purpose) Thomas Ellwood wrote a rejoinder, in the fourth month, 1702; both which answer and rejoinder, being very pertinent to the purpose, and notable on that subject, I should insert some part of it, but that it was only private, and never published that I know of; and therefore I would not begin to be the first publisher thereof.

1703. But now we come to his great work of the History of the Old Testament; which, at his leisure he had in hand for some years; and both he and we had this advantage of his being put by his work in answering adversaries; particularly that of the Snake, and George Keith's deism; having now seemed to have done with controversy, that he had the more time and leisure to prosecute this more excellent work; which having finished in 1704, he brought it up to London, to shew it to Friends, for their perusal and approbation. Which being done, it was published in folio, the next year, 1705, under the title of Sacred History; or the Historical Part of the Old Testament; gathered out from the other parts.

thereof, and digested, as near as well could be, into due Method, with respect to Order of Time and Place: with some Observations here and there, tending to illustrate some Passages therein. In his preface to which, having mentioned the praise of history out of Cicero, viz. that it is the witness of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, &c. which he thinks cannot be so well verified of any particular history, as of that which, being written by divinely-inspired penmen, is contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments. Then speaking of the motive or inducement to the undertaking, two things, he says, more especially led him to it: one, that the divine providence, the wisdom, power, goodness and favour of God in ordering, disposing, providing for, preserving, defending, and wonderfully delivering his servants and people out of the greatest straits, difficulties, hardships, dangers and sufferings, being more directly, and in a continued series and course of actions set before the reader's eye, he might be thereby the more stirred up, and engaged to admire and magnify, to love, reverence and fear the Lord, and be the more careful not to offend him. The other motive was, that all, the youth especially, of either sex, under whatsoever religious denomination they go, might be furnished with such an entertainment, to spend, at least their leisure hours upon; as might yield them at once both profit and delight. After which he proceeds to speak of

the manner of performance, under eight heads; the substance of which are,

1. That in digesting the following history, he hath not strictly tied himself to the letter and very syllables of the text; but with all due circumspection and care, to retain the matter and sense, hath sometimes varied the expressions, &c. 2. Where he hath left the last English translation of the Bible, he hath followed for the most part some other English or Latin; or the judgment of some eminently learned expositors. 3. As to the chronology especially with respect to the times of the judges and kings of Israel and Judah, he found so much uncertainty, and so little certainty or agreement amongst interpreters about it, that he had a mind to have left it out; but at the desire of some he added it in the margin; wherein, for the most part he followed R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testaments. 4. The few helps, he says he had, were chiefly from Dr. Gell's Essay towards an Amendment of the last English Translation of the Bible. Hugh Broughton's Consent of Scripture, Godwin's Moses and Aaron. The Annotations of Tremelius and Junius. And for names of persons and places, the Tables of Robert F. Herry. 5. The whole work is divided into three parts, without any particular regard had to the seven periods of time, into which chronologers and historiographers, out of a desire to reduce them to some sort of proportion with the six days work and seventh

day's rest, in the first week of the creation, have generally divided the ages of the world, from Adam until now. 6. Of these three parts, the first reaches from the creation to the death of Moses, when the children of Israel, being come to the borders of the promised land, the second time, were ready to enter in; and contains the remarkables in the five books of Moses, taking in Job between Genesis and Exodus. 7. The second part beginning with the book of Joshua, goes through that, and the book of Judges, with the first book of Samuel, and carries on the history from the death of Moses to the death of Saul, and the account that was brought to David of it. In which are recounted the transactions of chief note under all the Judges and Saul, the first anointed king of Israel. 8. The third part (by much the largest) goes on with the second book of Samuel, through the rest of the canonical scripture, sets forth the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, throughout the Jewish monarchy, with the most remarkable acts and occurrences therein, from David to the return of the last Babylonish captivity, and rebuilding of the temple; taking in the Prophets, as near as may be, in their several times.

Then he gives account who hath wrote on this subject; particularly a treatise called *The General View of the Holy Scriptures*, supposed to be the learned Broughton's; which Thomas Ellwood commends as an useful discourse in its kind. And of late years, Chris-



topher Ness' History and mystery of the Old and New Testaments, in four volumes. A book, says he, well fraught with variety of useful matter; but wittily observes, the mystery is not only interwoven with the history, but hath also so much overgrown it, that the reader who desires to peruse the history by itself, will be at some loss in that respect. And that which promises most to answer his end, he says, is R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testaments. A work indeed, not only instructive and delightful, but pompous and magnificent. A character that may justly be applied to his own (except the word pompous.) A work indeed it is, both pleasant and profitable; such judicious observations, and witty (though grave) turns on passages and things, as make it, as well as his other writings, not only pleasant to read, but profitable to the reader. A work that will remain a monument of his worth and ingenuity, to generations to come.

... I would only add, that there is a book of Sulpitius Severus, entitled Sacred History; but as that is in Latin, and far short of this of Thomas Ellwood's; so this cannot interfere with that, or be justly thought to be in imitation of it.

About this time we entered into a more particular correspondence by letters on several occasions; which we continued at times, almost till his death. So that I usually imparted to him the most remarkable occur-

rences that passed here; and often advised with him in the most important affairs, as I had occasion; and he, in requital, was always ready to answer me, in a very obliging manner, in any thing I desired. And I must acknowledge, he was very helpful to me, by his advice, in some controversies I had with some late adversaries; which I shall not now name, some of them being gone to their graves; and his friendly correspondence was always very acceptable, and instructive, as well as grateful to me, in his agreeable letters, of which I have many by me. Some of which he hath inserted in his decades.

1706. The next year, viz. 1706, there followed an intercourse of some letters between him and William Sewell of Holland, upon some particular points; which led into a friendly correspondence between them, in some other matters not unpleasant to read. Several of which letters of Thomas Edwood's are in his decades; with many others to divers persons, Friends and others, on various subjects; which, if ever it should be thought meet to publish them, or any of them, they would, I doubt not, be very instructive as well as diverting.

His next public work was on this occasion: About this time a book was published by a nameless author, called *A Divine Treatise*, written by way of Essay, (pretending) to demonstrate, according to the Mosaical Philosophy, Water-baptism, Imposition of Hands,

and the Commemoration of the Death and Passion of our ever-blessed Lord and Saviour under the Species of Bread and Wine, &c. This treatise coming accidentally or providentially to our friend Thomas Ellwood's hands, (as he says in his preface) he observed that the design of the author therein was, to reintroduce and set up again those typical representations therein treated of, among those who have been led by the Lord out of the use thereof, into a more spiritual dispensation. And finding his understanding in some measure opened, to see the danger and mischief of that undertaking, and his spirit withal stirred in him against it, he felt a concern upon his mind to publish his Observations which he had made thereon, that others might the more clearly see and readily escape the snare therein laid to entangle them, and draw them into bondage to outward ceremonies, and elementary shadows again. This he did in a book printed 1707, entitled, The glorious Brightness of the Gospel-day, dispelling the Shadows of the Legal Dispensation, and whatsoever else of Human Invention hath been superadded thereunto. And hoped to make it evident, that they are not of the nature of the gospel dispensation; nor have by any divine institution a continued place or service in the church of Christ, without taking notice who or what he was that wrote it, ' Since the author of the treatise, says Thomas Ellwood, under my observation, hath thought fit to conceal his name, I shall not pry behind the curtain

which himself hath thereby drawn before him, or concern myself to enquire either who or what he is, or has been; but without any regard to that shall directly apply myself to give a plain answer to the most material parts of his treatise:’ which he did to the purpose, in a close and nervous answer; it being indeed an excellent treatise, well worth the perusal of every impartial reader; to whom therefore I recommend it.

1707. And now I must say something of him under another consideration as well as writing. He had wrote several books against tithes, as before hinted, to shew the unsuitableness of them to the gospel dispensation, being Jewish in their original, and Popish in their revival; and that the obligation of paying them was ceased under the gospel, as to any divine right from scripture. And now it fell to his lot to suffer also in his turn for his testimony against the payment of them, for to him it was given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, and bear witness to his coming in the flesh, and offering up himself, to put an end to the law and priesthood, tithes and offerings, but also to suffer for his sake; being prosecuted with three Friends more, viz. John Penington, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch, in the exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Joshua Leaper, tithe-farmer of Amersham in the county of Bucks under Humphrey Drake, clerk, rector, and parson, so called, of the rectory and parish-church of Agmondesham, alias Amersham, aforesaid.

Thomas Ellwood, with the rest, were subpoenaed to appear at Westminster in Trinity-term, 1707, which they did by an attorney to prevent being in contempt of the court, and took a copy of the complainant's bill. But for not answering, attachments were issued out in Michaelmas-term, to take them up; on which they were taken into custody in the eleventh month, and afterwards an habeas corpus sent down to the sheriff of Bucks, to bring them up to the exchequer-bar in Trinity-term, 1708, on which they came up. And so to prevent the plaintiffs going on to a sequestration by default, they put in their answers; setting forth the value of the tithes, according to the best of their knowledge. Yet so vexatious was the adversary, that he would not be satisfied with their answer, but got a commission of enquiry to examine witnesses in the country, as to the value of the tithes; which they did at Amersham, in the tenth month. The first witness they examined, was one E——G——, of the parish of Chesham, aged, as they say, forty-four years or thereabouts, who deposed, that he knew the complainant and defendants; and had known the complainant about sixty years, (which was about sixteen years before he was born.) Whereby we may judge of the rest of his evidence; the charge of which commission, and executing it, came to between thirty and forty pounds, though some of it was abated on taxing the cost; and yet they proved little, if any thing more than

the defendants had set down in their answers ; yet went on to a hearing on it, and obtained a decree for the tithes and cost. For not performing which, attachments were issued out afresh against them, in Trinity-term, 1709, to the sheriff of Hartfordshire; Thomas Ellwood, Abraham Butterfield, and William Catch living in that county, but John Penington living in Bucks, was dropped, because the attachments to the sheriff of Hartfordshire would not reach him, and then a proclamation ; but the sheriff living remote, did not endeavour to take them ; and the prosecutor seemed rather to aim at a sequestration on their goods and estates, than their bodies ; so that seeing them resolved to go on, the defendants, to prevent it, offered to surrender themselves to the sheriff ; but he returned them each, *non est inventus*, and they got a commission of rebellion antedated, and moved for a serjeant at arms, the same day, to run them to a sequestration in all haste, Leaper being sick and bad, like to die, least he should not live till it was accomplished ; but being so illegal, at least in point of time, for that there ought to be eight days, between the test and return of the writ, in 30 miles off London, and 14 beyond, on our appearing against it, they could not obtain it till Hillary-term. In which time Leaper recovered, and one might have hoped that he might have repented ; but instead thereof then got a sequestration against them and their estates, both

real and personal, for tithes of Thomas Ellwood	
which was but	£00 12 0
Abraham Butterfield's	15 15 6
William Catch's	16 07 4
Cost as taxed by the deputy	71 17 8

In all for tithes and cost £104 12 6

For which they seized and took from Thomas Ellwood in household goods, bedding, pewter, &c. (throwing out the meat to take the dishes) to the value of 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ . and a horse he used to ride on, which he would not have took five guineas for. In all about £24 10 0

Which they sold, working and hobbling about the horse, till they had almost spoiled him, all for about 14 15 0

From Abraham Butterfield, cattle, corn, hay, &c. to the value of 86 17 0 which they sold by their own account for so much.

From William Catch they took, by their account, grass, &c. 8 14 8

And a year's rent of his house, deducting for taxes 11 shillings, 2 09 0

Being about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ . per annum, which they seized and kept till paid; which for four years, since the time called Michaelmas 1709, when they gave in their account, came to 9 16 0

In all from William Catch about £20 19 8.

Seized and taken in the whole about 132 06 8

For tithes and cost - - 104 12 6

More than demanded - £27 14 2

And yet, what by charge of sequestration making out, and selling the corn; selling underhand, &c. they brought in the defendants in debt, and wanted more.

I have been the larger in this account; to shew the proceeding of the exchequer, and the fruit of tithes, to ruin the queen's subjects for small matters, when they might recover by justice's warrants to the value of 10*l*. with the hundredth part of the charge.

Now we come to the second volume of his great work, the History of the New Testament, which he had had in hand at times, for the most part since he finished his former; and when he had finished this, he brought it up to London for Friends' perusal and approbation, where it was read, and afterwards published this year 1709, in folio, under the same title with the former, only as that was of the Old Testament, this was of the New, viz. Sacred History or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, &c. as in the title of the former, which as I gave some account of, so it behoves I should of this. The former treatise, says he, in his preface, having found a favourable reception, he was thence



encouraged to resume his pen, which at the close of that volume he had let fall, and proceed to the methodizing of the historical part of the New Testament, in two parts. In the first part whereof the reader will find an account of the conception, birth, life, travels, doctrines, discourses, miracles, sufferings, death, burial, resurrection and ascension of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (the author of the true christian religion) plainly, fairly and succinctly given; ushered in with a brief account of the conception, birth, manner of life, ministry and death of his forerunner, John, surnamed the Baptist; and attended in the second part with a like historical account of the acts and travels of the apostles of our Lord, in the propagation of his blessed gospel, after the ascension of our blessed Saviour; so far at least, as the evangelist Luke in the acts of the apostles hath recorded, or the clue or thread of the holy text leads him, beyond which, he says, he was not willing to adventure, &c.

In this undertaking, he says, he aimed at the same end as in the former. viz. that all the youth especially, of either sex, under whatsoever religious denomination they go, might be further furnished, with such an entertainment, to spend at least, their leisure hours upon, as might yield them at once both profit and delight; and might be thereby drawn off from mispending their precious time upon other, either hurtful, or at best unprofitable subjects.

Then he gives account why he hath, with the matter of fact, delivered the discourses, speeches, sermons and doctrines, delivered by our blessed Lord to his disciples, &c. viz. that the nature of the history required it, and that without it the discourse would have been less profitable and pleasant to the reader; and by that means less conducive to the end he proposed, which is to allure him to read the holy scriptures with delight, &c. according to the poet,

He certainly doth hit the white,  
Who mingleth profit with delight.

After which he gives an account of his going from place to place in the evangelists, to reduce the several parts and passages of the history, in the first part, to their due and proper times and places, which he endeavoured to do, though difficult, as near as he could. But the second part, (the Acts) being all written by one hand, the method, he says, is more regular, and the course of the history more clear. Yet the apostolical epistles, being without date, are hardly, he conceives, to be reduced with indubitable certainty to exact order; which yet he hath endeavoured to place them right, according to the best of his understanding. Then owning the helps he had in compiling this history, had been chiefly from the critics, and Cradock's Harmony of the four Evangelists, and his Apostolical History, with a few words of the performance; which if not done as it should, nor as he would, yet as

well as he could, and therefore in all humility, recommending and committing it to the divine disposal, he concludes his preface.

Next to the preface is an introduction, concerning the penmen of the New Testament, and in what language originally written, and in what order of time; particularly of the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; what they were, the time of their writing, and some particular circumstances concerning them and their ends, well worth the reader's perusal, for the better understanding the history, both of the Evangelists and Apostles. So proceeds to the history; which he deduces from the promised seed after the fall, for man's restoration, which the prophets foretold the coming of, and which he pleasantly draws out at large in order of time, and explains with the like judicious observations as in the former, taking in the epistles of St. Paul, &c. in the second part, in their proper places, as near as could be, and gives an account of them, the occasion why, the manner how, and time when they were written; ending with the revelations, which he renders as a revelation unrevealed; with some brief notes on it. The whole, as I said of the former, being both pleasant and profitable. Both which will remain a lasting monument of him in time to come.

1710. This year our friend Oliver Sansom, formerly of Farringdon, since of Abington in Berkshire, who had long war with the priests

about tithes, dying in the second Month, and leaving behind him an Account of some Remarkable Passages of his Life, which he communicated, in his life-time, to our friend Thomas Ellwood to peruse, who being always ready to be helpful and serviceable to all, especially his friends, he transcribed the same, and fitted it for the press, which was printed this year; to which Thomas Ellwood prefixed a testimony concerning him, pertinent to the occasion.

There is one book more of his, which he published in his life-time; which, it seems he had had by him, for the most part a long time, and after he had finished his Sacred History of the New Testament, he took in hand to finish, and completed. And that is, the Life of David in verse; first begun for his own diversion, not then thinking of the press, and carried on by degrees, to the end of the third book, in the year 1688, as hinted before in that year, when the prince of Orange landing, and the nation being in arms, the noise of guns, and sounds of drums and trumpets so affrighted and disturbed his peaceful muse, as he says in his preface, that both she for a while forsook him, and he thereupon the work, for above twenty years; save that on a review, observing how abruptly David was brought in, he added the first chapter of the first book to introduce his hero from the beginning of his story. Where it rested again, without any prospect of its ever going further, until the last

winter, 1711; when having, as he says, less health and more leisure, than at sometimes before, he took it up for an entertainment, to make some uneasy hours pass somewhat less uneasily over. And after he had read it through, considering that if, after his death, it should be found among his papers and committed to the press, it would be but an imperfect piece, he found an inclination to carry on the story to the end of David's life, (I wish he had done so by his own) and giving a kind invitation to his gentle muse to return, which by some short visits on particular occasions, in the interval, had given him some ground to hope she had not quite forsook him, he entered again upon the subject, where he had left off, and by degrees went through it, till he had brought his warlike hero to his peaceful grave.

After it was finished, deliberating whether to publish it himself, or leave it as a posthume, to be published by some kind hand after his death, for some reasons, particularly that if any should carp at it, he might be capable to answer for himself, he thought best to publish it in his life-time; and accordingly brought it up with him, when he came to the yearly-meeting, 1712; but not having then an opportunity to have it read, he came up again with it some time after, which I think was the last time he was at London, and after reading, committed it to the press this year, under the title of *Davidies*. The Life of David King of

Israel; a Sacred Poem, in five Books; in octavo. Though, as he observes, Abraham Cowley wrote a poem called Davidies, he had not read it till after he had finished his; and besides their different way of writing, Abraham Cowley's was but of the troubles of David in his youth, and that not half finished. And that he had the same aim in this, as in that of his Sacred History aforesaid.

I shall conclude his works and writings with a copy of verses he formerly wrote; which, though out of course as to time, is so well worth the inserting, that I hope they will make amends for being misplaced, viz.

O that mine eye might closed be,  
 To what becomes me not to see!  
 That deafness might possess mine ear,  
 To what concerns me not to hear!  
 That truth my tongue might always tye,  
 From ever speaking foolishly!  
 That no vain thought might ever rest,  
 Or be conceived in my breast!  
 That by each word, each deed, each thought,  
 Glory may to my God be brought!  
 But what are wishes? Lord, mine eye  
 On thee is fixt; to thee I cry:  
 O purge out all my dross, my tin:  
 Make me more white than snow within!  
 Wash, Lord, and purify my heart,  
 And make it clean in every part,  
 And when 'tis clean, Lord, keep it too;  
 For that is more than I can do.

Thus having gone through his printed books and papers, which I have endeavoured to give

a plain and succinct account of, and of him out of them, as far as I could, and with as much brevity as well might be, I shall now speak somewhat of him in his private capacity, and other services and station in the church, with his death and character; and so conclude the whole.

He lived many years (if not most of his time, especially after he was married) at Hunger-hill, in the parish of Agmondesham, alias Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, though his house stood in Hartfordshire, as aforesaid, where the monthly meetings of men and women were constantly kept, for that part of the county of Bucks; wherein he was very serviceable, in writing, advising and exhorting to keep all things well, and in good order, according to truth, and the testimony thereof; and had a peculiar gift for government in the church, and ordering things in monthly and quarterly meetings, and used to come up constantly to the yearly-meeting at London, and was very serviceable therein; not only by his grave counsel and advice, but also, in reading and writing on the occasion, especially in difficult matters. He had a singular talent in indicting and composing of things, epistles and papers, beyond many; so that I must needs say, he was an ornament to the meeting, and will be much missed therein, and many other ways. His wife died about five years before him, being a solid weighty woman, who had a public testimony for the Lord and his truth,

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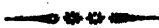
in meetings ; and therefore the greater loss to him and Friends. And for himself, he lived a private retired life, not concerning himself with much business in the world, but gave himself much to reading and writing, and lived in good repute among Friends, and all sorts of people, as far as ever I heard of, to a pretty good age ; but he bore his age very well, being of a regular life and healthy constitution ; only in his latter years he was somewhat troubled at times with an asthma ; and at last was taken ill of a palsy, the 23d of the Second month, 1713, which he bore with great patience and resignation ; an account of which, and his dying words, I leave to those who were with him in the time of his sickness, the eighth day of which he departed this life, the 1st of the Third month, in the 74th year of his age ; having served his generation according to the will of God, he fell asleep, and was honourably buried the Second-day following, being the 4th of the Third month, at Jordans ; being accompanied from his own house by a great many Friends and others, to the meeting-house there, (the meeting he belonged to) and interred in the burying-ground belonging thereto, where was a very large meeting, and great appearance of Friends and others ; several public Friends being there from London ; and other parts ; and divers living testimonies borne, to the truth he lived and died in, in a living remembrance of him, and his services in the church. A man of a comely aspect, of



a free and generous disposition, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleasant conversation; a gentleman born and bred, a scholar, a true christian, an eminent author, a good neighbour, and kind friend; whose loss is much lamented, and will be much missed at home and abroad. The Lord, if it be his will, raise up many such pillars, elders and overseers of his flock and family, as watchmen upon Sion's walls, for his honour, and the benefit of his church and people, saith my soul, Amen.

JOSEPH WYETH.

*London, 9th Month 30th, 1713.*



### POSTSCRIPT.

Since the writing of the foregoing supplement, I have understood, that our friend Thomas Ellwood, after he had finished and published his *Davidies*, signified, That he had but one thing more that lay upon his mind, and that was, to add something more to his *Journal*, or *Account of his Life*; which was chiefly to give an account of his books and writings; which, as it shews he had not done it, or finished it before, and it is to be doubted he did not after, not living long after that, and so no more from his own hand. So it shews what his design was, as to what he intended to have added to it, had he lived to perform it. So that the aforesaid supplement

seems, in some sort at least, to answer his own intention, though far short, as was said, of what his own hand could have done, yet so far as it does any way answer his mind, I am therein glad that I have done any service to his memory, or the truth in that respect ; having endeavoured to represent things as probably he would have done if he had been living, and hope the reader will accept it the better. To whom therefore I recommend it, as giving at least a fair character of the books he wrote, and controversies he managed, both published and unpublished ; which I hope will be no disservice, but service to the truth, as it is intended in the fear of God ; to whose honour, and the service of his truth, I desire, with great sincerity, to dedicate the remainder of my days, and rest,

A friend to all men,

JOSEPH WYETH.

*The Testimony of George Bowles, concerning Thomas Ellwood.*

IT is in my heart, briefly on this occasion, to commemorate the tender dealings of the Lord with his people in this latter age of the world, when it hath pleased him, in love to poor lost man, graciously to appear, by the breaking forth of his glorious gospel day. And by the secret divine reaches of the hand of God, which hath been felt and seen in the light of it, many have been drawn in their spirits to seek after the Lord, and to inquire after the knowledge of the way of life and salvation; and blessed be his holy name, who was graciously pleased, by the inshinings of this Divine light in the hearts of many, to expel the darkness and rend the veil. And then was the arm of his mighty power made bare, for the gathering many thousands to the saving knowledge of himself. And in that day was the Lord pleased, according to his promise, *to pour forth of his spirit upon sons and upon daughters; yea, upon servants and upon handmaids*, and many were made to prophecy; and being qualified by the holy Spirit, which they received, and were baptized by it into his name, became willing, and were freely given up in obedience to the Lord, and in bowels of tender love to the souls of mankind, in his power, to preach the gospel of life and salvation to those to whom they were sent; and many were turned *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God*, by their ministry;—amongst whom our dear deceased friend and brother, Thomas Ellwood, was one, whose conscience was reached and awakened by the powerful ministry of dear Edward Burrough, as I have heard him relate. And of that day and time, and the worthy instrument

by whose ministry he was convinced, and turned unto God, and made sensible of the Divine principle of life and light in his own heart, have I heard him speak with great regard; and also of the sufferings which did attend him after he received the truth in his father's family, for the truth's sake; and how the Lord preserved him in that time, under the various exercises, which he passed through for truth's testimony; which for Christ's sake he was conscientiously concerned to stand in, according to that plainness and simplicity which truth then led, and still continues to lead the sincere disciples of Christ into, by which they were distinguished from the world; and, for the sake thereof, they were despised of men, and hated of the world. Such was the plain language of thou to one, and refusing the hat-honour; for which, dear Thomas Ellwood suffered not a little in that day, as appears by the account of his life. And it were well if all, who come up in a profession of the blessed truth in this time, were faithful in these, and in the other branches of its testimony. And let all consider, that the neglecting thereof, is in a degree, making void the sufferings of the faithful, and strengthening the hands of evil doers, who for the sake of their testimony, loved not their lives to the death; but underwent cruel mockings, buffetings, stonings, whippings, stockings, revilings, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods; rejoicing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to suffer, either less or more, for his name sake. In respect of which, this my dear friend was a good example; he being a man of a steady mind, and very patient in suffering, as well as faithful in his testimony for truth, and took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, wherein he was tried but a few years before his death. He was often concerned in defence of truth's testimony, both against our professed adversaries, and also against the libertine spirit which appeared in some

professing the same truth with us, who opposed themselves against that good order and discipline which the truth led Friends into. All which will abundantly appear from the books themselves, which are in print, which he wrote upon various occasions, and upon divers subjects; and let not his great labour and industry be forgotten, in his writing those two historical volumes, relating to the Old and New Testaments; a work truly great, and is, and may be of great and useful service. By all which his many labours, it may be perceived by the wary and enlightened reader, that the Lord had endowed him with an excellent gift, and qualified him for the service of of truth, his church and people; in which he employed the talent which the bountiful Lord had given him, to the honour of the great giver, and to the comfort and edification of the church of Christ; but more especially were his services known to the brethren in this county of Bucks, most of whom are fallen asleep, and but few remaining here, who knew him in the beginning, or his first services for the Lord, his church and people; amongst whom he was a zealous asserter of that excellent discipline the Lord had opened in, and led his people to, for the preserving his church as a garden enclosed; for which cause how did many of those libertines set themselves fiercely against him, and shot their arrows at him; but the Lord defended him, *and covered his head in the day of battle, and his bow abode in strength, and his bough spread over the wall, and continued fresh and green;* but a blast from the Lord came upon their evil work; and how have they melted away? and how is their strength failed, and their work brought to nought? But the blessing of the Lord is with his people, even with the faithful, to this day, whom he hath preserved as a peculiar treasure to himself: blessed be his holy name for evermore. And furthermore, it may be truly said of this our dear friend, that as the Lord

fitted him for his service, so was he eminently serviceable in his hand, in the church of Christ, particularly in these parts, of which there are many living witnesses in this and the adjacent counties, of his great labour of love, having served the church freely, with great diligence and faithfulness; the true sense of which toucheth me and others, with the deeper sense of the great loss the church hath by his removal, but being also sensible through the Lord's goodness, that our loss is his eternal gain, I feel in my heart an humble submission to the will of him, who doth whatsoever pleaseth him, both in heaven and in earth: and who shall say unto him, What doest thou? And it is the tender breathing of my spirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would be graciously pleased, in pity and compassion to his poor people, to raise up, fit and furnish more faithful servants for his work and service, and make them zealous for his name and truth upon the earth, that the place of this my dear friend, and other faithful servants of the Lord and his people, of late removed from amongst us in these parts, may be supplied; and that the spouse of Christ may, amidst all her tribulations, afflictions and sore exercises, be made to praise the Lord, and bless his holy name, who taketh away one, and raiseth up another, and blesseth his children with his goodness; according to his promise made of old by the holy prophet, Isa. xlv. ver. 3, saying, *I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.* And thus hath the Lord preserved Zion from age to age; and I doubt not, but am fully persuaded, that he will still bless his people, and preserve Zion, and deliver her from her enemies.

And my dear friends, brethren and sisters, although it be a matter of sorrow to us to part with our dear friends, especially such as have been made serviceable in their day, and have faithfully served the Lord and his people in their generation, as it may, I hope, with-

out just occasion of offence to any, be said of dear Thomas Ellwood, that he was a man who served the Lord in faithfulness, and his people with cheerfulness, and his neighbours with uprightness and integrity; and therefore, both they and we have the greater loss. Yet may we not sorrow unseasonably, as those who sorrow without hope, but, believing that the Lord hath taken him to himself in mercy, though it may be in judgment to some who were unworthy; let us learn resignation to his blessed will, and say with holy Job, *The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* And dear friends, I may further signify unto you, that it being my lot to be with this our dear friend (of whom I am speaking) almost every day of his last illness, I did observe in him, to my great comfort and satisfaction, a quiet composed frame of mind and spirit, and resignation to the will of God. When I came first to him, which was soon after I heard of his being taken ill, which was the 24th of the Second month, I found him very much disabled by the distemper, which was thought to be a palsy that had seized him, especially on his right side, so that he could not stand alone, nor help himself but a little with his left hand, and his speech was also very much interrupted, insomuch that it was with great difficulty, for the most part, that he expressed himself so as to be understood. Some time after I came to him, there being also other Friends with him, we sat down together under a weighty exercise of spirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep silence, with our eye to him; it pleased the Lord eminently to appear amongst us, and to fill our hearts with the refreshing streams of his divine love, and to open the mouth of one of us in prayer and supplication; and the Lord was graciously pleased abundantly to replenish our spirits, to our mutual comfort, in a living sense of divine goodness; and this our dear friend expressed himself in great tenderness and brokenness

of spirit, on this wise, I am sensibly comforted and refreshed in this visit. And that afternoon, he, fixing his eyes upon me, with great earnestness of spirit, expressed, as well as he could at that time, a great concern that was upon his mind for truth, and the friends of it, in divers particulars; especially in relation to our own monthly and quarterly-meetings, the writings of both which, had been under his care for more than forty years; after which, he was much eased in his spirit, and so continued to the last, so far as I perceived; often saying, when asked how he did, I am easy, I am quiet. And he was often very tender in his spirit; expressing his resignation to the will of God, whether in life or death; saying, If the Lord hath no more work for me to do, I am content and resigned to his will; and my hearty farewell is to all my brethren. And at another time, nearer his end, he said to us present, in much brokenness of heart, I am full of joy and peace, my spirit is filled with joy; or to this effect: for by reason that his speech was so weakened, several things could not be so well collected, which he at times spake, in a tender sense of the Lord's goodness; the sense of which deeply affected some of us who were with him. And my heart is sorrowfully affected at this time, in a sense of the great loss which the church of Christ, in these parts especially, hath by his removal; but in this I am comforted, in a living sense of the Lord's mercy and goodness towards him, in carrying him through his affliction in great patience and quietness; under which he was sweetly refreshed, by the streams of divine love, and his cup was often made to overflow; and we, who were present, being touched with the sense thereof, were comforted therein; being in a travail of spirit for him, and did in our measures truly sympathize with him under his affliction. And I am fully satisfied, he laid down his head in peace with the Lord, and is gathered to his everlasting rest. He



departed this life the 1st of the Third month, 1713, about the second hour in the morning, in the 74th year of his age. He received the truth in the year 1659, and lived in fellowship with the friends of it about 53 years. And I think it may be truly said of him, That as he lived so he died, the servant of the Lord and his people, and hath left a sweet savour behind him; and his memory is blessed with the righteous for ever, Amen.

### GEORGE BOWLES.

*Eighth month, 1713.*

*A Testimony from the Monthly Meeting at Hunger-Hill, held the seventh of the Fourth Month, 1713, concerning our dear and well-beloved friend and brother in the truth, Thomas Ellwood, deceased.*

THAT the dead which die in the Lord are blessed of him, we have great assurance of, from John the Divine, when writing to the seven Churches, Rev. xiv. 13; where he tells them, that he heard a voice from heaven, saying, *Write blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.* Of which number, we have no cause to doubt, but this our dear friend is one; who was eminently useful in the church of Christ. A man to whom the Lord had given a large capacity, beyond many, and furnished him with an excellent gift; whereby he was qualified for those services in the church, in the performance of which, he did shine as a star, which received its lustre and brightness from the glorious Sun of Righteousness. He was wise, but humble; condescending to the weak, and ready to help where he saw and felt sincerity; but sharp to that which he apprehended to be insincere and deceitful; for which

cause he was not acceptable to hypocrites and disorderly walkers; yet he was a man of a very acceptable and agreeable conversation, as well as sober and religious, both in the church and in the world; being of a free and affable temper and disposition, far from affectation; but of a courteous behaviour and graceful carriage to all, and very serviceable to and amongst his neighbours. He was very near and dear to many of us, who were most intimately acquainted with him, and his memorial is sweet to us. His services in our meetings, and in the quarterly meeting for the county of Bucks, were very great, and of many years continuance; in which he showed great diligence, being of a ready mind, willing to serve the church according to that ability which the Lord had given him; and his heart and house was open to his friends, and the monthly meeting was kept there more than forty years, and remains there to this day. Our loss is great by his removal: but in this we are satisfied, that it is his everlasting gain; being gathered, as we have good cause to believe, to his eternal rest. The knowledge we had of him, and the good account which we have received of him, in the time of his last illness, by those who were most constantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable departure, doth sensibly engage our hearts to acquiesce in the will of the Lord; and therein we have peace and comfort. He departed this life, the 1st of the Third Month, 1713, and was honourably buried in Friends' burying place, at New-Jordans, in the parish of Giles Chalfont, in the county of Bucks, the 4th of the same month.

Signed by the appointment of the Monthly Meeting, by

GEORGE BOWLES,  
WILLIAM GRIMSDALL,  
JAMES SMITH,  
DANIEL WHARLEY,

DANIEL ROBERTS,  
ABRAHAM BARBER,  
THOMAS OLLIFFE.

*A Testimony from the Women's-Meeting, concerning  
Thomas Ellwood.*

A concern is upon our spirits, to write somewhat concerning our dear deceased friend and elder, Thomas Ellwood, who was highly valued by us, for that wisdom and counsel were with him; and being of a free and affable temper, ready to assist those which stood in need thereof, encouraged many to apply to him for advice, under the divers circumstances, and various exercises which this uncertain world affords; which we have found to be for our good, as we followed it. He was an early comer to meetings, seldom hindered by weather (though he lived three miles distant) when bodily weakness did not hinder, of late years, being oft indisposed as to his health. The monthly-meeting was held at his house about forty years, and he always looked very kind and courteous on Friends, when they came there, and took care and notice of the meanest, who came in sincerity. He was zealous for good order, and against such, who being in an apostatized spirit, opposed it; and may well be numbered amongst the worthies, whose names are upon record for their valour; so is this our friend worthy to be; who never turned his back on such who opposed the truth; but stood his ground, as his printed sheets on such occasions do shew. As also his other works of several kinds, do manifest how great endowments God had bestowed on him, (yet we, who knew him in his conversation, are engaged to set forth how kind and condescending he was to the weakest capacity, and would help out when they wanted a word) that generations to come may learn how good it is to *forsake all and follow Christ Jesus*, as this our friend did; and the account of his life following, shews; who not only gives wisdom but teacheth humility also.

He was greatly respected by his neighbours, for his services amongst them. His heart and doors were open to the poor, both sick and lame, who wanted help, and had it freely, taking care to provide things useful for such occasions, (blest also with good success) often saying, he mattered not what cost he was at to do good. Such lament their loss; what then may we do, who miss him in an higher station, in his great service in the church of Christ, but even desire to be resigned to the will of the Lord, who preserved him through all his hardships, to a dominion over false brethren, and is now out of their reach, and of temptation too; on whose head, the blessing asked for Joseph, rests; who as a fruitful bough, his branch spreads over the wall of opposition, and his bow abode in strength, the hands of whose arms were made strong, by the help of the mighty God of Jacob to whom be the glory for what he hath wrought in our day, whose own works praise him for evermore. And the tears of sorrow that we shed, for the loss of this our deceased friend, let them be remembered to bow our spirits, each of us, into a godly care, that we may come up according to our several capacities to follow the Lord faithfully, in a godly zeal for his honour, and so come to lay down our heads in joy and peace, as this our friend expressed he did.

This eminent servant of Christ, was early convinced of the way of truth, wherein he continued to the finishing of his days: for the sake of which, he soon became a sufferer; not only by imprisonment, for worshipping God in the assemblies of his people, but also from his Father, by whom he was made an outcast, for no other cause, but for his faithful testimony in taking up the cross to the world's behaviour and language: whereupon he was invited by his much valued friend Isaac Penington, to his house, where he abode several years, until he married. He was a blessing in, as well as a great com-

fort and help to that family ; and by his wise conduct therein, gained much esteem, not only from the elders, but the youth, whom he instructed in learning ; and though most of them are by death removed, yet one still remains, who from certain and experimental knowledge, can commemorate his worth : being engaged thereto, from a sense of the benefit of his good and wholesome advice, given at sundry times, and on divers occasions. Which friendship continued firm to the last.

His natural capacity was large, and his understanding, in the things of God very deep ; which excellent qualifications meeting in one, rendered him useful beyond many, to his country, as well as very serviceable in the church ; by both which he is, and will be greatly missed. But he is gone to his grave in a full age, and gathered as a shock of corn in its season, having done his day's work faithfully, so that saying may be verified in him, the end crowns all.

His sickness was sudden, which soon deprived him of the use of his limbs, yet he retained the faculties of his inward and outward senses clear all along ; and notwithstanding, at times, his pains were great, his exemplary patience, and composed resignation, was remarkably apparent to those that visited and attended him, so that their sorrow in parting with so dear a friend, was intermixed with comfort, in beholding the heavenly frame of mind wherewith he was adorned.

Thus after all his labours, he entered into everlasting rest, and left many behind weeping, though not without hope, that they shall again meet at the general assembly of saints, where the redeemed shall sing praises to their blessed Redeemer, whose right it is to reign for ever.

We have this further to add, namely, that our esteem of him was great, because of that real worth

that was in him, through the operation of the mighty power of the Lord, that separated him from the love of the world; so that he chose (with Moses) rather to *suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season*; and it pleased the Lord to fit him with wisdom and counsel, so that he was made able to give judgment in difficult cases, wherein many of us have particularly received benefit, and therefore have cause to lament the loss we have by his removal. And oh! say our souls, that the Lord would raise up many more in his room, to the praise and honour of the good Husbandman. And it is our desire that we who are yet behind, may be made able so to steer our course, through this troublesome world, that when our end comes, we may lay down our heads in peace with the Lord, and leave a good savour behind us, as this our friend hath done.

This is written in true love and respect, to the memory of our deceased friend, as it pleased the Lord to move upon our hearts; and being read and approved in our women's-meeting at Hungerhill, the 4th of the 11th month, 1713, was subscribed in behalf of the said meeting by us,

MARY BAKER,  
MARY WHARLEY,  
MARY LARCUM.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

### SPECULUM SECULI;

OR, A LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE TIMES.

*Which began with this expostulatory preface :*

Why should my modest muse forbidden be,  
To speak of that which but too many see?  
Why should she, by conniving, seem to uphold  
Men's wickedness; and thereby make them bold  
Still to persist in it? Why should she be shy  
To call them beasts, who want humanity?  
Why should she any longer silence keep,  
And lie secure, as one that's fast asleep?  
Or, how, indeed, can it expected be,  
That she should hold her tongue, and daily see  
Those wicked and enormous crimes committed,  
Which she in modesty, has pretermitted?  
Which but to name would with their filth defile  
Chaste ears, and cast a blemish on her style.  
Yet, of so many, she cannot forbear  
To mention some, which here detected are.

LOUD were the cries, which long had peirc'd mine ear,  
Foul the reports, which I did daily hear  
Unheard of ~~new~~ crimes were brought,  
By fame unto my knowledge, which I thought  
Too foul and loathsome to have found a place  
In any heart, though ne'er so void of grace.  
This made me take a more observant view,  
Whether report spake what of men is true.

But as the celebrated southern queen,  
When she the court of Solomon had seen,  
And had, with more than usual diligence,  
Observ'd his splendour and magnificence,  
Consider'd well his pomp, his port, his state,  
The great retinue that on him did wait,  
As one with admiration fill'd (no doubt  
Not able longer to contain) burst out  
Into such words as these; " Thrice happy king!  
" Whose fame throughout the universe doth ring,

" Though of thine acts I thought report too bold,  
 " Yet now I see one-half hath not been told."  
 Just so did I (though in another kind)  
 After I had intently fix'd my mind  
 Upon men's actions, and had duly weigh'd  
 Not only what they did, but what they said;  
 A while I stood, like one that's struck with thunder,  
 Fill'd with astonishment, and silent wonder.  
 At length my heart, swelling with indignation,  
 Vented itself in such an exclamation!

O bellish doings! O infernal crew!  
 Of whom, who says the worst he can, says true.  
 O herd of lustful satyrs, monsters, brutes!  
 For such a name to such a nature suits:  
 What ink is black enough to write! What pen  
 Fit to delineate such beasts, not men!  
 Words are too shallow to express the rage,  
 The fury, madness of this frantic age.  
 Numbers fall short to reckon up the crimes,  
 Which are the recreations of these times.

Was Sodom ever guilty of a sin,  
 Which England is not now involved in?  
 By custom, drunkenness so common's grown,  
 That most men count it a small sin, or none;  
 Ranting and roaring they affirm to be  
 The true characters of gentility.  
 Swearing and cursing is so much in fashion,  
 That 'tis esteem'd a badge of reputation.  
 What dreadful oaths! What direful execrations  
 On others! On themselves what imprecations  
 They tumble out, like roaring claps of thunder,  
 As if they meant to rend the clouds asunder!  
 Mockers do so abound in ev'ry place,  
 That rare it is to meet a sober face.  
 Ambition boasting, Vanity, and pride,  
 With numbers numberless of sins beside,  
 Are grown thro' use, so common, that men call  
 Them Peccadilloes; small, or none at all.

But Oh! the luxury and great excess  
 Which by this wanton age is us'd in dress!  
 What pains do men and women take, alas!  
 To make themselves for arrant bedlam's pass!  
 The fool's pied-coat, which all wise men detest,  
 Is grown a garment now in great request.  
 More colours in one waistcoat now they wear,  
 Than in the rainbow ever did appear;  
 As if they were ambitious to put on  
 All colours that they cast their eyes upon;



Thereby outstripping the Chameleon quite;  
 Which cannot change itself to red or white.  
 Each man, like Proteus, his shape doth change,  
 To whatsoever seemeth new or strange,  
 And he that in a modest garb is drest,  
 Is made the laughing stock of all the rest.  
 Nor are they with their baubles satisfied,  
 But sex-distinctions too are laid aside.  
 The women wear the trowsers and the vest,  
 While men in muffs, fans, petticoats, are drest.  
 Some women,—Oh the shame! like ramping rigs,  
 Ride flaunting in their powder'd perriwigs;  
 Astride they sit, and not ashamed neither,  
 Drest up like men, in jacket, cap and feather.  
 All things to lust and wantonness are fitted,  
 Nothing that tends to vanity omitted.  
 To give a touch on ev'ry antic fashion,  
 Which hath been worn of late within this nation,  
 Might fill a volume, which would tire, no doubt,  
 The reader's patience, if not wear it out.

Come now, ye ranting gallants of the times,  
 Who nothing have to boast of but your crimes;  
 Ye Satan's hectors, who disdain to swear  
 An oath beneath *God damn me if be dare*.  
 Blasphemous wretches! whose impieties,  
 With rude assaults, have storm'd the very skies,  
 And dar'd the God of Heaven, a dreadful stroke  
 Shall ye receive, by which ye shall be broke;  
 And in the fiery lake those torments find,  
 Which for such desperadoes are assign'd.

And ye, who take so great delight to curse,  
 As that you think yourselves a deal the worse;  
 Unless unto the highest strain ye swell,  
 And wish the devil make your bed in hell;  
 This know, the long provoked God is come,  
 From whom ye must receive that dreadful doom;  
 "Depart ye cursed, and for ever dwell,  
 Where beds of torment are prepar'd in hell."

'Twas wonderful to see in what a trice,  
 This zealous nation was o'er-run with vice.  
 As when the boiling gulf, with furious gales  
 Puff'd up, o'erflows its banks and drowns the vales;  
 And when again it ebbs, it leaves, we find,  
 A loathsome scum, and noisome stink behind.

So great was, in a word, the wickedness  
 Of that black day, such the uncurb'd excess,

As if the fatal hour had then been come;  
 For the deliv'ry of hell's pregnant womb.  
 And that the devil had a patent got,  
 To vend whatever merchandise he brought;  
 Or that Pandora's box, which poets feign  
 Did all calamities in it contain,  
 Had then been newly op'ned, and from thence  
 Had flutter'd out this raging pestilence;  
 Which since the common body hath o'erspread,  
 With such a lep'rous scab from foot to head,  
 That 'tis a lamentable sight to see,  
 How each sex old and young debauched be.

A sort of men have overrun this nation,  
 Who are a burthen to the whole creation;  
 Men shall I call them, or the viper's brood?  
 Lovers of evil, haters of all good.  
 These, swell'd with envy, in a great despight  
 To Christ, with fist of wickedness do smite.  
 Not their own fellow-servants, for they are  
 The devil's slaves, by him bor'd thro' the ear.  
 But God's ambassadors, whom he hath sent  
 To warn them of their sins, and cry repent;  
 Or to denounce his judgments against those,  
 That set themselves his message to oppose.  
 These persecute the innocent, and say,  
 When they are gone 'twill be a merry day.  
 These grind the poor, the needy these oppress,  
 Widows devour, tread on the fatherless.  
 Far from themselves they put the evil day,  
 Remove impending judgments far away.  
 And yet in vain they strive t'escape the stroke,  
 Of that just God, whom boldly they provoke.  
 For they afflict his people, slay his sheep,  
 Beat those whom he appointed hath to keep,  
 And feed his tender lambs; rend, tear, devour,  
 Suppress God's worship to their utmost pow'r.  
 A cursed generation, who are bent  
 To spare the wicked, slay the innocent;  
 Whose blood doth cry, whose blood doth cry aloud,  
 As loud as Abel's, pierceth thro' the cloud;  
 Presents itself before the judgment-seat,  
 And justice doth of the just Judge intreat,  
 That speedy vengeance he will take on all,  
 Who persecute his saints and them enthrall.

Nor is he deaf, its cry with him prevails,  
 And he hath promised, who never fails  
 In the performance, that he will arise;  
 And put a period to their cruelties;

And that he will, with more than winged speed,  
Send comfort to his poor afflicted seed,  
Which under Pharaoh's heavy yoke hath groan'd,  
And in captivity itself bemoan'd.

O bloody sin of *persecution* !

'Tis thou that pluckest judgments down upon  
The heads of kings, princes, plebeians, all  
That act thee, and by thee the saints enthrall.  
This is that sin, that sin which cries aloud,  
Louder than all the rest, the guilt of blood,  
Which is the strongest cord the devil hath  
To draw down on mankind God's heavy wrath.  
Weeping I sigh, and sighing weep to see  
The rod which God prepared, hath for thee,  
O England, who dost evilly intreat  
His messengers, and dost his prophets beat.

Ah, England, Ah, poor England, I bewail  
Thy sad estate, O that I might prevail  
In my desires for thee ! Then shouldst thou be  
As full of joy as now of misery.  
For then should plenty in thy fields be found,  
And all thy garners should with grain abound.  
Then peace, long lasting peace should in thee dwell,  
For God would all thine enemies repel ;  
And he himself would take delight in thee,  
So thou the glory of the world would'st be.

But ah, alas ! small hope I have to see,  
Such happy symptoms of good health in thee.  
No, no, sad isle, my reason it doth tell me,  
That all the crosses which have yet befel thee,  
Are but an earnest of that dreadful day,  
Wherein God will upon thy head repay  
Wrath, fury, vengeance and destruction ;  
The just reward of persecution.

The due consideration of thy state,  
And thine, I fear, inevitable fate,  
Doth move my heart with pity and compassion,  
And leads me to this short expostulation.

Who to the eye gave sight ? What, shall not he  
The cruel sufferings of his people see ?  
And shall not he that formed hath the ear,  
The mournful groans of his dear children hear ?  
Are men so stupid grown, they think God's blind ?  
Or that he doth not heed ? or cannot find  
A way, to ease the sufferings of his seed ?  
Whose cry unto him is, Father, with speed

Arise, arise; rend thou the clouds, descend  
 Avenge us of our enemies, defend  
 Us from their cruelties; and let them see  
 Thy care of us, exceeds our love to thee.

Nor are these sighs in vain; for he indeed  
 Is rising, yea, is risen, our cause to plead  
 In righteousness; and henceforth us who kicks,  
 Shall know 'tis hard to kick against the pricks.

Be warned then, ye rulers, and let all  
 Of whatsoever rank, both great and small,  
 Tremble before the Lord, and cease to rage,  
 Against our God's peculiar heritage.  
 For of a truth, his long provoked hand,  
 Is stretched out in judgment o'er this land;  
 And ye must feel it, for he hath decreed,  
 To vindicate his long oppressed seed.  
 And in his fury he will vengeance take,  
 In our behalfs, who suffer for his sake.  
 Then shall ye know that he who sits on high,  
 Regards us as the apple of his eye.

## POSTSCRIPT;

### OCCASIONALLY SUBJOINED.

Since what precedes, was written, I have found  
 An accusation form'd, but without ground,  
 Against me, that with uncontrolled pen,  
 I too severely lash the faults of men.  
 And take upon me in satiric rhymes,  
 To pass a rigid censure on the times.  
 This drew me on to add another line,  
 To shew them that the fault's their own, not mine.  
 No crime can justly to my charge be laid,  
 Unless it be a crime that, Truth be said.  
 Nor can without injustice any blame  
 My muse for echoing the common fame.

If any should object that wise men hold,  
 That truth at all times ought not to be told;  
 Nor that whatever comes into one's head  
 Should straight, because 'tis true, be published.  
 I readily assent, because I know,  
 Pearls before swine we are forbid to throw.  
 Some truths I grant may better be conceal'd,  
 Than if they out of season were reveal'd.  
 Yet would I not that any through mistake,  
 Should of my words a misconstruction make.

Than that should happen, I had rather be  
Tax'd by the reader for prolixity.

Thus then in brief, would I be understood,  
If what I know concerns my brother's good,  
For him? to know, ought I not then unfold  
It to him rather than from him withhold  
A benefit; so on the other side,  
It is I think too plain to be deny'd,  
That if I see what certainly doth tend  
To the hurt of my neighbour or my friend,  
I am oblig'd by christian charity,  
To give them warning of the danger nigh;  
To shew them that they stand upon the brink  
Of certain ruin, and if then they sink,  
By wilful running on, I shall be free  
From guilt, their blood on their own heads will be.  
'Tis plain I think, yet if ye can't believe it  
Without a scripture proof, lo, here\* I give it.  
This is the very case, which if well weigh'd,  
Will fully justify what I have said.

I saw men running to a precipice,  
At foot of which was such a vast abyss,  
As could have swallow'd nations, so immense;  
That 'twas impossible to climb out thence.  
For if a man, we see, but chance to pitch,  
O'er head and ears into some miry ditch,  
How quickly is he smothered, unless  
Some friendly hand assist in that distress!  
And if, with struggling out at length he get,  
Yet how besmear'd is he with dirt and wet!  
But into this deep pit, who falls, in vain  
Expects an hand to help him out again.  
No, 'tis of grace that men forewarned are,  
And ere their feet are taken, shew'd the snare.

And warned they must be. For so was I  
While roving in their paths of vanity;  
Toil'd and bewilderd in a dismal night,  
Of thick Egyptian darkness from the light.  
From whence the Lord hath by his love me drawn,  
And in my heart ha' h caus'd his day to dawn.  
His glorious day, his never setting sun,  
To rise and darkness to expel begun.  
This love as it arises warms my heart,  
And fills it with desires to impart

\* Levit. xix. 17. Ezek. xxxiii.

To others of its goodness, that none may  
For want of good direction miss their way.

Know therefore thou, who hitherto hast spent  
Thy time in vanity, and wholly bent  
Thy utmost strength, thy lusts to satisfy,  
And surfeit with delights thy wanton eye,  
The Lord hath in thy conscience plac'd a light,  
To teach thee how to guide thy steps aright.  
This checks when into evil thou hast run,  
And gives thee warning ere thou hast begun.  
Hast thou not heard when in thy full career,  
Something within thee say, What do I here?  
And when thy mind is cool another day,  
Doth it not sometimes cause thee thus to say;  
O that I had not run into excess,  
O that I had not done this wickedness.  
My conscience tells me that I have done ill,  
In yielding to my own corrupted will,  
And though no eye did see me, yet my heart  
I feel, is full of torment, pain, and smart.  
Were it to do again I'd have more care,  
And not run wilfully into the snare.  
Consider what that is, which thus doth raise  
A trouble in thee for thy evil ways.  
And what that is which many times doth grieve thee,  
And often makes thee cry out, God forgive me.

When thus it checks thee next, straight call to mind,  
That word thine ear shall hear a voice behind  
Thee, saying. Hither turn, this is the way,  
When to the right or left thou goest astray.  
And having heard. obedience forthwith give,  
To its reproof, hear, and thy soul shall live.  
For were men subject to Christ's light within,  
It certainly would lead men out of sin.  
And thro' believing, bring them into heav'n,  
For that's the end, for which by him 'tis given.

Thus have I faithfully discharg'd a part,  
Which long lay as a weight upon my heart;  
Regardless of what danger may ensue,  
For seasonably speaking what is true.  
And if ungrateful men shall ill requite,  
My signal love with enmity and spight;  
I let them know that my undaunted pen,  
Scorns the contracted brows of angry men.  
Prepar'd I am to suffer with content,  
The worst that can red malice can invent;

Which is no more than to my Lord beset,  
To suffer evil things for doing well.

*Bona agere, aut mala pati, regium est.*

To suffer evil for well-doing, brings  
The sufferer to share renown with kings.

## No. 2.

### A HYMN TO GOD.

Thee, thee alone, O God I fear,  
In thee do I confide;  
Thy presence is to me more dear  
Than all things else beside.

Thy virtue, power, life and light,  
Which in my heart do shine;  
Above all things are my delight,  
O make them always mine!

Thy matchless love constrains my life,  
Thy life constrains my love,  
To be to thee as chaste a wife,  
As is the turtle-dove.

To her elect, espoused mate,  
Whom she will not forsake;  
Nor can be brought to violate  
The bond she once did make.

Just so my soul doth cleave to thee,  
As to her only head;  
With whom she longs conjoin'd to be,  
In bond of marriage bed.

But ah, alas! her little fort,  
Is compassed about;  
Her foes about her thick resort,  
Whithin, and eke without.

How numerous are they now grown,  
How wicked their intent;  
O let thy mighty pow'r be shown,  
Their mischief to prevent!

They make assaults on ev'ry side,  
But thou stand'st in the gap;  
Their batt'ring rams make breaches wide,  
But still thou mak'st them up.

M II

Sometimes they use alluring wiles,  
To draw into their pow'r;  
And sometimes weep like crocodiles,  
But all is to devour.

Thus they beset my feeble heart,  
With fraud, deceit and guile;  
Alluring her from thee to start,  
And thy pure rest defile.

But Oh! the breathing and the moan,  
The sighings of the seed;  
The groanings of the grieved one,  
Do sorrows in me breed.

And that immortal, holy birth,  
The offspring of thy breath:  
To whom thy love brings life and mirth,  
As doth thy absence death.

That babe, that seed, that parting child,  
Which cannot thee forsake,  
In fear to be again beguild,  
Doth supplication make.

O suffer not thy chosen one,  
Who puts her trust in thee,  
And hath made thee her choice alone,  
Ensnar'd again to be.

*Bridewell, London, 1662.*

### No. 3.

*A pathetic Elegy, on the death of that dear and faithful servant of God,  
Edward Burrough. Who died the 14th of the 12th Month, 1662.*

How long shall grief lie smother'd? Ah, how long  
Shall sorrow's signet seal my silent tongue!  
How long shall sighs me suffocate! And make  
My lips to quiver, and my heart to ache!  
How long shall I, with pain suppress my cries!  
And seek for holes to wipe my wat'ry eyes!  
Why may not I, by sorrow thus oppress'd,  
Pour forth my grief into another's breast!  
If that be true which once was said by one,  
That\* he mourns truly who doth mourn alone;

\* *Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.*



Then may I truly say my grief is true,  
 Since it hath yet been known to very few.  
 Nor is it now mine aim to make it known,  
 To those to whom these verses may be shown;  
 But to assuage my sorrow-swollen heart,  
 Which silence caus'd to taste so deep of smart.  
 This is my end, that so I may prevent,  
 The vessel's bursting by a timely vent.

*Quis talia fando  
 Temperet a Lacrymis!*

Who can forbear, when such things spoke he hears,  
 His grave to water with a flood of tears?

E cho ye woods, resound ye hollow places,  
 Let tears and paleness cover all men's faces.  
 Let groans like claps of thunder pierce the air,  
 While I the cause of my just grief declare.  
 O that mine eyes could, like the streams of Nile,  
 O'erflow their wat'ry banks, and thou meanwhile,  
 Drink in my trickling tears, O thirsty ground;  
 So mightest thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.  
 Lament, my soul, lament; thy loss is deep,  
 And all that Sion love sit down and weep.  
 Mourn, O ye virgins, and let sorrow be  
 Each damsel's dowry, and, alas for me!  
 Ne'er let my sobs and sighings have an end,  
 Till I again embrace m' ascended friend,  
 And till I feel the virtue of his life  
 To console me, and repress my grief;  
 Infuse into my heart the oil of gladness  
 Once more, and by its strength remove that sadness,  
 Now pressing down my spirit, and restore

Fully that joy I had in him before.

Of whom a word I fain would stammer forth,  
 Rather to ease my heart, than shew his worth:

His worth, my grief, which words too shallow are  
 In demonstration fully to declare:  
 Sighs, sobs, my best interpreters now are.

Envy be gone. Black Momus quit the place,  
 Ne'er more, Zoilus, shew thy wrinkled face.  
 Draw near, ye bleeding hearts, whose sorrows are  
 Equal with mine; in him ye had like share.  
 Add all your losses up, and ye shall see  
 Remainder will be nought, but woe is me.  
 Endeared lambs, ye that have the white stone,  
 Do know full well his name, it is your own.

E ternity'd be that right-worthy name,  
 D eath hath but kill'd his body, not his fame ;  
 W hich in its brightness shall for ever dwell,  
 A nd, like a box of ointment, sweetly smell.  
 R ighteousness was his robe, bright majesty  
 D ecked his brow ; his look was heavenly.

B old was he in his master's quarrel, and  
 U ndaunted ; faithful to his Lord's command ;  
 R equiting good for ill, directing all  
 R ight in the way that leads out of the fall.  
 O pen and free to ev'ry thirsty lamb ;  
 U nspotted, pure, clean, holy, without blame.  
 G lory, light, splendour, lustre was his crown,  
 H appy his change to him—the loss our own.

*Unica post cineres virtus veneranda beatos efficit.*

Virtue alone, which reverence ought to have,  
 Doth make men happy, even beyond the grave.

While I had thus been breathing forth my grief,  
 In hopes thereby to get me some relief ;  
 I heard, methought, his voice, say, cease to mourn,  
 I live. And though the vail of flesh once worn,  
 Be now stript off, dissolv'd and laid aside,  
 My spirit's with thee, and shall so abide.  
 This satisfi'd me, down I threw my quill,  
 Willing to be resign'd to God's pure will.

#### No. 4.

#### *EST VITA CADUCA.*

As is the fragrant flower in the field,  
 Which in the spring a pleasant smell doth yield,  
 And lovely sight, but soon is withered,  
 So's man ; to-day alive, to-morrow dead.  
 And as the silver dew-bespangled grass,  
 Which in the morn bedecks its mother's face,  
 But ere the scorching summer's past, looks brown,  
 Or by the scythe is suddenly cut down.

Just such is man, who vaunts himself to day,  
 Decking himself in all his best array ;  
 But in the midst of all his bravery,  
 Death rounds him in the ear, friend, thou must die.

Or like a shadow in a sunny day,  
Which in a moment vanisheth away ;  
Or like a smile, or spark, such is the span  
Of life, allow'd this microcosm man.

Cease then vain man to boast, for this is true,  
Thy brightest glory's as the morning dew ;  
Which disappears when first the rising sun  
Displays his beams above the horizon.

### No. 5.

### "ALL IS VANITY."

*See here the state of man as in a glass,  
And how the fashion of this world doth pass.*

Some in a tavern spend the longest day,  
While others hawk and hunt the time away.  
Here one his mistress courts, another dances ;  
A third incites to lust by wanton glances.  
This wastes the day in dressing, th' other seeks  
To set fresh colours on her with' red cheeks ;  
That, when the sun declines, some dapper spark  
May take her to Spring-garden, or the Park.  
Plays some frequent, and balls ; others their prime  
Consume at dice ; some bowl away their time.  
With cards some wholly captivated are,  
From tables others scarce an hour can spare.  
One to soft music manipulates his ear,  
At shovel-board another spends the year.  
The post-mill this accounts the only sport,  
That keeps a racket in the tennis-court.  
Some strain their very eyes and throats with singing,  
While others strip their hands and backs at ringing.  
Another sort with greedy eyes are waiting,  
Either at cockpit, or some great bull-baiting.  
This dotes on running-horses, t' other fool  
Is never well, but in the fencing-school.  
Wrestling and football, ninepins, prison-base,  
Among the rural clowns find each a place.  
Nay Joan unwash'd will leave her milking pail,  
To dance at May-pole, or a Whitsun-Ale.  
Thus warrow most in sensual delight,  
As if their day should never have a night,  
Till nature's pale-faced serjeant them surprise,  
And as the tree then falls, just so it lies.

Now look at home, thou who those lines dost read,  
See which of all these paths thyself dost tread,  
And ere it be too late that path forsake,  
Which, follow'd, will thee miserable make:

No. 6.

*ODE TO VIRTUE.*

Wealth, beauty, pleasures, honours, all alien !  
I value virtue far, far more than you.

Y'are all but toys

For girls and boys

To play withal ; at best deceitful joys.

She lives for ever, ye are transitory,

Her honour is unstained, but your glory

Is mere deceit ;

A painted bait,

Hung out for such as sit at folly's gate.

True peace, content, and joy on her attend,

You, on the contrary your forces bend

To blear men's eyes

With fopperies,

Which fools embrace, but wiser men despise.

No. 7.

*CONFORMITY PREST AND REPREST.*

B. What ! you are one of them that do deny  
To yield obedience by conformity?

Q. Nay, we desire conformable to be.

B. But unto what ? Q. The image of the Son.

B. What's that to us ! We'll have conformity

Unto our form. Q. Then we shall ne'er have done.

For, if your fickle minds should alter, we

Should be to seek a new conformity.

Thus who to-day conform to prelacy,

To-morrow may conform to popery.

But take this for an answer, bishop, we

Cannot conform either to them, or thee :

For while to truth your forms are opposite,

Whoe'er conforms thereto doth not aright.

B. We'll make such knaves as you conform, or lie

Confin'd in prisons till ye rot and die.

Q. Well, gentle bishop, I may live to see,

For all thy threats, a check to cruelty ;

And then, rewarded with thy envious crew,  
According as unto your works is due ;  
But, in the mean time, I for my defence,  
Betake me to my fortress, patience.

### No. 8.

Awake, awake, O arm o' th' Lord awake ;  
Thy sword up take :  
Cast what would thine forgetful of thee make,  
Into the lake.  
Awake, I pray, O mighty Jah, awake ;  
Make all the world before thy presence quake,  
Not only earth, but heaven also shake.  
Arise, arise, O Jacob's God arise,  
And hear the cries  
Of ev'ry soul, which in distress now lies,  
And to thee flies.  
Arise, I pray, O Israel's hope arise,  
Set free thy seed, oppress'd by enemies.  
Why should they over it still tyrannize !  
Make speed, make speed, O Israel's help, make speed ;  
In time of need ;  
For evil men have wickedly decreed  
Against thy seed.  
Make speed, I pray, O mighty God, make speed,  
Let all thy lambs from savage wolves be freed,  
That fearless on thy mountain they may feed.  
Ride on, ride on, thou valiant man of might,  
And put to flight  
Those sons of Belial, who do despight  
To the upright.  
Ride on, I say, thou champion, and smite  
Thine and thy people's enemies with such might,  
That none may dare 'gainst thee, or thine, to fight.

### No. 9.

#### A SONG OF PRAISE.

Thy love, dear Father, and thy tender care,  
Have in my heart begot a strong desire,  
To celebrate thy name with praises rare ;  
That others too thy goodness may admire,  
And learn to yield to what thou dost require.

Many have been the trials of my mind;  
 My exercises great, great my distress;  
 Full oft my ruin hath my foe design'd,  
 My sorrows then my pen cannot express;  
 Nor could the best of men afford redress.

When thus beset, to thee I lift mine eye,  
 And with a mournful heart my moan did make,  
 How oft with eyes o'erflowing, did I cry,  
 My God, my God, O do me not forsake!  
 Regard my tears! some pity on me take!

And, to the glory of thy holy name,  
 Eternal God, whom I both love and fear,  
 I hereby do declare, I never came  
 Before thy throne, and found thee loath to hear;  
 But always ready, with an open ear.

And though sometimes thou seem'st thy face to hide,  
 As one that had withdrawn thy love from me,  
 'Tis that my faith may to the full be tri'd,  
 And that I thereby may the better see  
 How weak I am, when not upheld by thee.]

For underneath thy holy arm I feel  
 Encompassing with strength, as with a wall,  
 That if the enemy trip up my heel,  
 Thou ready art to save me from a fall;  
 To thee belong thanksgivings over all.

And for thy tender love, my God, my King,  
 My heart shall magnify thee all my days,  
 My tongue of thy renown shall daily sing,  
 My pen shall also grateful trophies raise,  
 As monuments to thy eternal praise.

## No. 10.

### SOLITARY THOUGHTS

*On the Uncertainty of Human Things. Occasioned by the sudden loss  
 of a Hopeful Youth.*

*Transibunt cito, quæ vos mansura putatis.*

*Those things soon will pass away,  
 Which ye think will always stay.*

*What ground, alas, has any man  
 To set his heart on things below,  
 Which, when they seem most like to stand,  
 Fly, like an arrow from a bow.*

Things subject to exterior sense  
Are to mutation most propense.

If stately houses we erect,  
And therein think to take delight,  
On what a sudden are we check'd,  
And all our hopes made groundless quite?  
One little spark in ashes lays  
What we were building half our days.

If on estate an eye we cast,  
And pleasure there expect to find,  
A secret Providential blast  
Gives disappointment to our mind.  
Who now's on top, ere long may feel  
The circling motion of the wheel.

If we our tender babes embrace,  
And comfort hope in them to have,  
Alas, in what a little space,  
Is hope, with them laid in the grave!  
Whatever promiseth content,  
Is in a moment from us rent.

This world cannot afford a thing,  
Which, to a well-composed mind,  
Can any lasting pleasure bring,  
But in its womb its grave will find.  
All things unto their centre tend,  
What had beginning will have end.

But is there nothing then that's sure,  
For man to fix his heart upon?  
Nothing that always will endure,  
When all these transient things are gone?  
Sad state! where man, with grief oppress'd,  
Finds nought whereon his mind may rest.

O yes, there is a God above,  
Who unto men is also nigh;  
On whose unalterable love  
We may with confidence rely.  
No disappointment can befall  
Us, having him that's all in all.

If unto him we faithful be,  
It is impossible to miss,  
Of whatsoever he shall see  
Conducible unto our bliss.  
What can of pleasure him proven,  
Who hath the fountain of content?

In him alone if we delight,  
 And in his precepts pleasure take,  
 We shall be sure to do aright,  
 'Tis not his nature to forsake.  
 A proper object's he alone,  
 For man to set his heart upon.

————— *Domino mens nixa quiescit.*

The mind which upon God is staid,  
 Shall with no trouble be dismay'd.

—  
 No. 11.

GIGANTOMACHIA ;

*Or, the Wars of the Giants against Heaven.*

Why do the heathen in a brutish rage,  
 Themselves against the Lord of hosts engage ?  
 Why do the frantic people entertain  
 Their thoughts upon a thing that is so vain !  
 Why do the kings themselves together set !  
 And why do all the princes them abet !  
 Why do the rulers to each other speak,  
 After this foolish manner, Let us break  
 Their bonds asunder ! Come let us make haste,  
 With joint consent, their cords from us cast.  
 Why do they thus join hands, and counsel take  
 Against the Lord's anointed ! This will make  
 Him, doubtless laugh ; who doth in heaven sit :  
 The Lord will have them in contempt for it.  
 His sore displeasure on them he will wreak,  
 And in his wrath will he unto them speak.  
 For on his holy hill of Sion, he  
 His king hath set to reign ; sceptres must be  
 Cast down before him ; diadems must lie  
 At foot of him, who sits in majesty  
 Upon his throne of glory ; whence he will  
 Send forth his fiery ministers, to kill  
 All those his enemies, who would not be  
 Subject to his supreme authority.

Where then will ye appear, who are so far  
 From being subjects, that ye rebels are  
 Against his holy government ; and strive  
 Others from their allegiance too to drive ;



What earthly prince such an affront would bear  
 From any of his subjects, should they dare  
 So to encroach on his prerogative;  
 Which of them would permit that man to live?  
 What should it be adjudg'd but treason! And  
 Death he must suffer for it, out of hand.

And shall the King of kings such treason see  
 Acted against him, and the traitors be  
 Acquitted? No; vengeance is his, and they  
 That him provoke, shall know he will repay.

And of a truth, provoked he hath been,  
 In an high manner, by this daring sin  
 Of usurpation, and of tyranny  
 Over men's consciences, which should be free  
 To serve the living God as he requires.  
 And as his holy spirit them inspires.  
 For conscience is an inward thing, and none  
 Can govern that aright but God alone.  
 Nor can a well-informed conscience lower  
 Her sails to any temporary power;  
 Or bow to man's dominion; for that would be  
 Treason in a superlative degree;  
 For God alone can laws to conscience give,  
 And that's a badge of his prerogative.

This is the controversy of this day,  
 Between the holy God, and sinful clay.  
 God hath, throughout the earth proclaim'd, that he  
 Will over conscience hold the sov'reignty;  
 That he the kingdom to himself will take,  
 And in man's heart his residence will make;  
 From whence his subjects shall such laws receive,  
 As please his royal majesty to give.

Man heeds not this, but most audaciously  
 Says, Unto me belongs supremacy:  
 And all men's consciences, within my land,  
 Ought to be subject unto my command.

God, by his holy spirit, doth direct  
 His people how to worship; and expect  
 Obedience from them. Man says, I ordain  
 That none shall worship in that way, on pain  
 Of prison, confiscation, banishment;  
 Or being to the stake, or gallows sent.

God, out of Babylon, doth people call;  
 Commands them to forsake her ways, and all

Her sev'ral sorts of worship, to deny  
Her whole religion, as idolatry.

Will man thus his usurped pow'r forego,  
And lose his ill-got government? Oh no:  
But out comes his enacted, be't, That all  
Who when the organs play, will not down fall  
Before this golden image, and adore  
What I have caus'd to be set up, therefore  
Into the fiery furnace shall be cast,  
And be consumed with a flaming blast.  
Or, in the mildest terms, conform, or pay  
So much a month, or so much ev'ry day;  
Which we will levy on you by distress,  
Sparing nor widow, nor the fatherless;  
And if you have not what will satisfy,  
Y'are like in prison, during life, to lie.

Christ says, swear not; but man says, swear, or lie  
In prison, præmunir'd, until you die.  
Man's ways are, in a word, as opposite  
To God's, as midnight-darkness is to light.  
And yet fond man doth strive with might and main,  
By penal laws, God's people to constrain  
To worship what, when, where, how he thinks fit;  
And to whatever he enjoins, submit.

What will the issue of this contest be?  
Which must give place, the Lord's, or man's decree?  
Will man be in the day of battle, found  
Able to keep the field, maintain his ground,  
Against the mighty God? No more than can  
The lightest chaff before the winnowing fan;  
No more than straw could stand before the flame,  
Or smallest atoms when a whirlwind came.

The Lord, who in creation, only said,  
Let us make man, and forthwith man was made;  
Can, in a moment, by one blast of breath,  
Strike all mankind with an eternal death.  
How soon can God all man's devices quash,  
And with his iron rod, in pieces dash  
Him like a potter's vessel! None can stand  
Against the mighty power of his hand.

Be therefore wise, ye kings; instructed be,  
Ye rulers of the earth, and henceforth see  
Ye serve the Lord in fear, and stand in awe  
Of sinning any more against his law;

His royal law of liberty, to do  
 To others as you'd have them do to you.  
 Oh stoop, ye mighty monarchs, and let none  
 Reject his government, but kiss the Son.  
 While 's wrath is but a little kindled, lest  
 His anger burn, and you that have transgress'd  
 His law so oft, and would not him obey,  
 Eternally should perish from the way;  
 The way of God's salvation; where the just  
 Are bless'd, who in the Lord do put their trust.

*Belix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

Happy's he,  
 Whom other's harms do wary make to be.

## No. 12.

*A Song of the Mercies and Deliverances of the Lord.*

Had not the Lord been on our side,  
 May Israel now say,  
 We were not able to abide  
 The trials of that day.

When men did up against us rise,  
 With fury, rage and spight;  
 Hoping to catch us by surprise,  
 Or run us down by night.

Then had not God for us arose,  
 And shewn his mighty power,  
 We had been swallow'd by our foes,  
 Who waited to devour.

When the joint-pow'rs of death and hell  
 Against us did combine,  
 And, with united forces, fell  
 Upon us with design.

To root us out; then had not God  
 Appear'd to take our part,  
 And them chastized with his rod,  
 And made them feel the smart;

We then had overwhelmed been,  
 And trodden in the mire,  
 Our enemies on us had seen  
 Their cruel heart's desire.

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When ston'd, when stock'd, when rudely strip'd  
 Some to waste have been,  
 Without regard of sex, and whip'd  
 Until the blood did spin;

Yea, when their skin, with stripes look'd black,  
 Their flesh to jelly beat,  
 Enough to make their sinews crack,  
 The fusties were so great:

Then had not God been with them, to  
 Support them, they had died;  
 His pow'r it was, that bore them thro'—  
 Nothing could do't beside.

When into prisons we were throng'd,  
 Where pestilence was rife,  
 By bloody-minded men, that long'd  
 To take away our life;

Then had not God been with us, we  
 Had perish'd there, no doubt;  
 'Twas he preserv'd us there, and he  
 It was that brought us out.

When sentenced to banishment,  
 Inhumanly we were,  
 To be from native country sent,  
 From all that men call dear;

Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,  
 And take our cause in hand,  
 And struck them with a panic fear,  
 Which put them to a stand;

Nay, had he not great judgments sent,  
 And compass'd them about,  
 They were, at that time, fully bent  
 To root us wholly out.

Had he not gone with them that went,  
 The seas had been their graves;  
 Or, when they came where they were sent,  
 They had been sold for slaves.

But God was pleas'd still to give  
 Them favour where they came,  
 And in his truth they yet do live,  
 To praise his holy name.

And now afresh do men contrive  
 Another wicked way,

Of our estates us to deprive,  
And take our goods away.

But will the Lord, who, to this day,  
Our part did always take,  
Now leave us, to be made a prey,  
And that too for his sake?

Can any one, who calls to mind  
Deliverances past,  
Discourag'd be at what's behind,  
And murmur now at last!

O that no unbelieving heart  
Among us may be found,  
That from the Lord would now depart,  
And coward-like, give ground.

For, without doubt, the God we serve,  
Will still our cause defend,  
If we from him do never swerve,  
But trust him to the end.

What if our goods, by violence,  
From us be torn, and we,  
Of all things but our innocence,  
Should wholly stripped be?

Would this be more than did befall  
Good Job? Nay sure, much less;  
He lost estate, children and all,  
Yet he the Lord did bless.

But did not God his stock augment,  
Double what 'twas before?  
And this was wrot to the instant  
That we should hope the more.

View but the lilies of the field,  
That neither knit nor spin:  
Who is it that to them doth yield  
The robes they're decked in?

Doth not the Lord the ravens feed,  
And for the sparrows care?  
And will not he, for his own seed,  
All needful things prepare?

The lions shall sharp hunger bear,  
And pine for lack of food,  
But who the Lord do truly fear,  
Shall nothing want that's good,

Oh ! which of us can now diffide  
 That God will us defend,  
 Who hath been always on our side,  
 And will be to the end.

*Spes confixa Deo nunquam confusa recedat.*

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded,  
 Will never fail, nor be confounded.

No. 13.

*COLLAUDEMUS DOMINUM.*

Come, let us praise the Lord with one consent,  
 All ye, whose hearts to honour him are bent.  
 Come, let us of his gracious dealings tell ;  
 For with us he hath dealt exceeding well.  
 When him we did not seek, he did us find,  
 He gave us sight, when were dark and blind.  
 He brought us home, when we were run astray,  
 And set our feet i'th' new and living way,  
 When hunger pin'd he gave us heavenly bread,  
 And with the choicest dainties hath us fed.  
 He from misleading guides deliver'd hath,  
 And led us forward in the just man's path.  
 He hath with strength and courage us endued,  
 With zeal for truth and christian fortitude ;  
 He wisdom from above doth daily give,  
 To them that in his truth sincerely live.  
 In battle he hath us preserv'd thus far,  
 And made us victors in the holy war.  
 Our enemies he greatly hath subdued.  
 His sword in blood o'th' slain hath been imbrued.  
 He hath preserved from the roaring lion,  
 And brought a little remnant safe to Sion.  
 Where, in his presence, they sit down and sing  
 Eternal hallelujahs to their king,  
 Who lives and reigns, and may his reign extend  
 Throughout the universe, and have no end.

FINIS.



